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GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE

1939-1943

Methods and Organization of Nazi Controls

FRANCE

31 March 1944

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GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE

I. THE PERIOD OF OPERATIONS

A. Earliest Measures

The period of operational activities in France was very short, beginning on 12 May and coming to an end as a result of the Armistice of 25 June.

As the Germans advanced through France, their first administrative act in any locality was the posting of a notice[1] indicating that the German military commanders would assume all powers necessary to assure security of the army and to maintain order. Local officials were to continue to perform their duties upon condition that they maintain a loyal attitude toward the German Army. Each person to whom the German military authorities gave an order was to comply with it. This notice was signed by the Commander in Chief of the German Army, who thereby conferred the above powers on subordinate military commanders.

A number of measures which came into immediate effect in France were already prepared before the German armies set foot on French soil. One of these provided for the application of German law by German military tribunals or special tribunals.[2] Another gave the force of law to all decrees and regulations issued during the occupation by competent military authorities. The laws of the occupied country were to remain in force only insofar as they were compatible with such decrees and regulations.[3] These measures clearly form part of a general pattern for occupation, probably used in all countries where outright extermination was not intended.

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1. Verordnungsblatt für das besetzte Gebiet der französischen Departements Seine, Seine-et-Oise und Seine-et-Marne, 21 June 1940 (later changed to Verordnungsblatt für die besetzten französischen Gebiete; both are referred to hereafter as VOBl.)
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Another important part of the machinery of occupation was also prepared in advance, namely, the establishment of Reichskreditkassen. The powers conferred on the Reichskreditkassen by the Finance Minister and the Economics Minister of the Reich include regulation of the flow of currency, of payments, and of credit in the occupied country, and engaging in various financial operations in order to carry out the decisions of the central administration of the Reichskreditkassen. The Commander in Chief in France ordered the establishment of the Reichskreditkasse for France to be effective from the moment of occupation.[1] The order was published before the conclusion of the Armistice, and represents the first authorization given to Germans other than military personnel to participate in the administration of France. The Reichsmark had already been made legal tender and the exchange rate set by the Commander in Chief.

An ordinance of 18 May 1940 provided for the exercise of quasi-judicial functions by local commandants in that they might punish persons not subject to the military penal code.[2]

B. Economic Measures

A series of ordinances and decrees concerning economic matters was issued toward the end of May 1940. By order of the Commander in Chief, Army authorities were empowered to insure the operation of businesses whose usual owners or managers had fled by appointing temporary administrators.[3] Another ordinance, dated 20 May, which was also applied in the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg listed commodities

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1. VOBl., 21 June 1940.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

which were subject to immediate requisition. Anyone possessing such commodities was required to make a monthly declaration giving the quantity and location of such goods in his possession. Ownership of goods might not be transferred without the consent of the military authorities.[1] Military authorities also had power to make detailed regulations to carry out the provisions of an ordinance of the Commander in Chief controlling imports and exports of all the western occupied countries.[2] The Commander in Chief decreed on 23 May 1940 that customs duties, taxes, and imposts should continue to be collected according to laws in force in the country before 10 May unless military authorities ruled otherwise; military authorities were also empowered to impose other duties payable in currency.[3] The supervision of industrial, agricultural, and forest production was also put in the hands of German military authorities.[4]

It is clear that in this initial period all orders proceeded from the military branch, most being signed by the Commander in Chief. Economic and financial controls came into effect upon the orders of the military and were for the time being exercised by personnel attached to the military. Although source material for France gives no direct evidence of such a policy, it is probable that such personnel was largely shifted over to the army civilian administration when that was set up.

C. Administration of Paris

A kind of preliminary to the civilian administration is found in the administration of the Paris region under the

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Militärbefehlshaber Paris, who signed a number of decrees and ordinances toward the end of June 1940. This administration was a temporary one, and no more is heard of the office after the establishment of the army civilian administration. The Militärbefehlshaber Paris ordered the blackout of the city,[1] issued orders against the hoarding of food supplies,[2] and decreed the freezing of prices and wages.[3] A detailed proclamation of 20 June summed up various orders already given.[4] It defined the offenses which were to be tried in German military courts: assistance to non-German military personnel, aid to civilians fleeing occupied territory, transmission of information abroad to enemies of Germany, relations with war prisoners, offenses against the German Army or its command, gatherings in streets or distribution of tracts or organizing meetings without permission in advance from the German commandant, cessation of work or incitement thereto. Local authorities and services were ordered to continue functioning and their heads made responsible to the German authorities for the performance of their duties; this provision was supplemented by a more detailed decree of 26 June 1940.[5] Another duty of the Militärbefehlshaber was to proceed with restitution of German property seized by the French as a war measure. French authorities holding such property were ordered to declare it to him and German claims for restitution were to be submitted to him.[6]

Shortly after the Armistice, on 8 July 1940, the Army was able to turn over the problems of government to a special military administration, utilizing many civilian specialists.

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1. VOBl., 21 June 1940.
2. Ibid., 20 June 1940.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. 30 June 1940
6. Ibid. 21 June 1940

II. THE GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT

A. Introduction

German administration in France is conducted in two zones, distinct as to the theoretical degree of German control and as to the means through which control is exercised. The distinction tends to become less sharp as the occupation government remains longer in effect, but is preserved at least in form.

The relation between France and Germany is nominally that of two independent states. German diplomatic representation in France continues. By the terms of the Armistice, France agreed to the occupation of part of its territory (in which part the occupation authorities should have those governmental powers necessary to the occupation) and agreed to the exercise of certain special controls in the unoccupied portion by authorities deriving their powers from the Armistice Commission which was set up to supervise the execution of the Armistice. The French Government has some degree of authority throughout the whole of the national territory except Alsace and Lorraine, which are in the process of annexation to the Reich. In the part of the territory (now militarily occupied), which is not under the administrative control of the government of occupation (hereafter called the Vichy Zone in contradistinction to the Paris Zone), the Vichy Government has full authority, subject to the international controls of the Armistice Commission. It also has authority to legislate for the occupied Paris Zone, subject to prior approval of its legislation by German authorities.

For the purposes of German civil administration, the

Paris Zone does not include the two northern departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais. These are attached to the German administration for Belgium and Northern France. Not all Vichy legislation which is approved for the Paris Zone is allowed to apply in these two departments.

The area of German military command into which France falls is not coterminous with the areas of military administration.

B. Paris Zone

1. General Organization. The Armistice of 25 June 1940 may be taken as the constitutional basis for German authority in France. Its terms are, however, so general that their interpretation must be inferred from the acts of the German authorities. The relevant provision in Article III states only that Germany shall exercise all the rights of an occupying power, and that the French Government, through its officials and agents, shall support and carry out the regulations of the German authorities. Germany exercises a variety of administrative controls and, on the military side, has the authority necessary to the maintenance of its troops on French territory. The military administration serves not only to supervise the French but also to supply and maintain the Western Army group in France; therefore there is the closest liaison between the field Army and the military administration on all levels.

The chief of the military administration in France is the Military Governor (Militärbefehlshaber), an office at present held by General von Stülpnagel. He has administrative authority over the military subdivisions in France (for operational purposes they are under the higher authority of the Field Army itself) and heads the administration of civil

affairs. Military affairs are directed by a Military Staff (Kommandostab), and matters of civil administration by an Administrative Staff (Verwaltungsstab). The Administrative Staff has a number of functional subdivisions including one for economic matters and one for propaganda. For purposes of military administration the Military Staff works through various territorial subdivisions of the Paris Zone. The largest of these is the District (Militärverwaltungsbezirk), of which there are four:

	Headquarters	Approximate area
Military District A	Paris	Territory north and east of line Caen-Orléans-Troyes-Nancy
Military District B	Angers	West of above line and north of Loire River
Military District C	Dijon	Eastern France south of line Caen-Orléans-Troyes-Nancy
Military District D	Bordeaux	South of Loire

Greater Paris forms a fifth District on the same administrative level. These Districts are further subdivided into Oberfeldkommandanturen with divisional status, Feldkommandanturen with regimental status, and Kreis- or Ortskommandanturen with battalion status. Originally the area of an Oberfeldkommandantur corresponded to several departments, a Feldkommandantur to a department, a Kreiskommandantur to an arrondissement, and an Ortskommandantur to a single municipality. Often the offices were housed in the same building with those of the French official of similar territorial jurisdiction. A reliable report of the summer of 1942 indicated that, because of the shortage of manpower occasioned by the campaign in Russia,

the German offices were being spread somewhat more thinly, the Kreiskommandantur now corresponding to a department, and the Feldkommandantur to two or more departments, with a consequent reduction in the number of Oberfeldkommandanturen. An order issued by F.K. 750 at Vannes indicates economy in Kreiskommandanturen, although it does not otherwise bear out in detail the above generalization.

The Military Governor exercises German legislative power in France. Decrees and laws are signed by him and are executed by local German officials, acting either directly or through the local French officials. The Feldkommandanten often make detailed regulations implementing the decrees of the Military Governor. German legislation is in practice confined to a fairly narrow range of subjects; it has been found more satisfactory to inspire French authorities to enact desired legislation in such fields as economic and social legislation, control of various types of associations, control of production, etc. The subjects dealt with by German legislation are usually such as directly affect the security of the Army -- definition of the competence of military tribunals, provision for the prevention and punishment of sabotage, control of means of propaganda, control of all communications with the Vichy Zone and with foreign countries, enactment of regulations for civilian defense, control of stocks and stabilization of prices (this has been turned over more and more to French authorities), etc. One notable field in which German legislation was the rule was anti-Jewish legislation. The Military Governor enacted laws similar to those of Germany for the Paris Zone; the Vichy Government enacted anti-Jewish laws, but they were

not as severe as those of the Paris Zone. The Vichy Government may make laws which apply in the Paris Zone as well as in the Vichy Zone, provided the laws have the prior approval of German authorities. Furthermore, established French laws continue to apply so long as they are not incompatible with German purposes.[1]

Execution of German decrees is carried out by the Military Staff, the Administrative Staff, and French officials. The chief of the Administrative Staff is Dr. Schmidt, who, in a press interview, described his staff in the following terms.[2] Its personnel consists of about a thousand individuals who constitute an elite of administrative officials with special qualifications for their work in France. Indeed, in view of the relative smallness of their numbers, they probably depend on local units of the Military Staff to deal for them with local French officials. Both military and administrative staffs are attached to the Oberfeldkommandanturen and offices for Military Districts.[3] French authorities are specifically charged by the terms of the Armistice with preserving local government and with executing regulations of the occupation authorities when called upon to do so. The Vichy Government made considerable changes in personnel throughout the local services of national agencies and in local government. Wherever new appointments were made for the Paris Zone the approval of the German authorities had to be obtained. Thus there was built up a personnel composed of Frenchmen who could, for all practical purposes, be relied upon faithfully to carry out

1. VOBl., 20 June 1940
2. Berliner Börsenzeitung, 2 November 1940.
3. Johanny, Carl. "Die Militärverwaltung in Frankreich und Belgien." Deutsche Verwaltung, 25 November 1940.

German orders. The fact that often German offices were located in the same buildings as those of the French officials provided an initial check on the activity of the latter.

2. Functional Controls. The manner in which certain problems are handled will now be described in order to shed light on the problem of functional controls in general. The control of communications is one of vital concern to the maintenance and security of German military forces. Radio stations were seized outright, and all transmitting apparatus was ordered to be delivered immediately to the German military authorities.[1] Another very early order limited postal service to the Paris Zone, forbade the use of telegraph and teletype, and restricted telephone service to local networks except for assigning the French Government certain long-distance lines and certain lines between the two zones. Later these regulations were somewhat relaxed; postal service with certain foreign countries was resumed and, finally, service across the demarc tion line.[2] Letters from the Paris Zone to the Vichy Zone go through the German censorship office, then to a German military post office (Deutsche Feldpost) which delivers them to French exchange post offices on the demarcation line. The observance of the prohibitions is assured through French post offices. Some of the many German women auxiliaries who came to France on the heels of the German army first operated, and later supervised, the operation by French personnel of telephone and telegraph services; thus German authorities were able to keep a constant check on suspect lines. Long-distance telephone calls and the sending of

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1. VOBl.; 30 June 1940.
2. Ibid., 14 November 1940; 31 October 1941.

telegrams was finally permitted, subject to authorization from the Feldkommandantur. Frenchmen seeking such authorization are required to apply to the French prefect, who in turn passes the request to the Feldkommandantur and delivers the authorization if it is granted. Recently it was reported that increased sabotage had necessitated placing telephone and telegraph lines in the Atlantic coast region under direct German control.[1] Control over carrier pigeons is carried out by the French mayor, who is ordered to receive declarations as to their ownership. The mayor is then required to submit quarterly reports to the Feldkommandant with respect to carrier pigeons.[2] Permits to use motor vehicles apparently are issued by the prefect, but only with the consent of the Feldkommandant.[3] Vichy finally enacted a code for motor traffic modeled on German rules, and thereafter enforcement of French legislation by French authorities was sufficient to satisfy German requirements. German control at the demarcation line is, however, severe and undisguised. Rules for crossing are set forth by the Military Governor[4] and applied with all the force at Germany's command.

An important instrument of German occupation is the control of the various channels of propaganda. To exercise that control directly or through French authorities is the business of the Propaganda Section of the Administrative Staff, at present under Major Schmidke. All publications in the Paris Zone were required to go to German authorities for permission to continue or resume after the occupation;

1. FCC ticker, 14 October 1943.
2. Verordnungsblatt, 17 October 1940.
3. Ibid.; 27 August 1940.
4. Ibid., 15 May 1941.

in many cases a German political director was installed in the editorial offices of the publication to supervise its work. Individual publishing firms received a list of banned books which were to be withdrawn from sale and destroyed. The impression given by German authorities was that the imposition of this list resulted from an agreement with the French association of publishers. This association now performs a preliminary censorship of new publications which is subsequently reviewed by the Propaganda Section.[1] An instance of direct German action is an order by the Military Governor forbidding the use of certain history texts in schools.[2] The enforcement of such an order would naturally devolve primarily upon the French prefects, who exercise local control over teaching personnel, as well as on the French Ministry of Education, whose control is national in scope. In the matter of cinemas, authorization of the head of the Administrative Staff is necessary to run a motion picture house. Request for such authorization is, however, addressed to the French association of directors of motion picture houses.[3] The head of the Administrative Staff also passes on all films before they can be shown.[4] The censorship unit of the Propaganda Section is called the Filmprüfstelle.[5] The Military Governor, through the French association of producers, licenses persons permitted to engage in any part of cinema production.[6]

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1. Kernan, Thomas, France on Berlin Time.
2. VOBl., 19 September 1940.
3. Ibid., 19 September 1940.
4. Ibid., 19 September 1940
5. Ibid., 25 May 1941.
6. Ibid., 7 December 1940.

A number of miscellaneous functions are carried out partly by German agents, partly by French. Measures to combat epizootic disease and plant pests are ordered by the Military Governor or the head of the Administrative Staff.[1] Outdoor photography is permitted only with specific permission of the Feldkommandant, and all photographs so taken must be submitted to the nearest local German command, which may confiscate them.[2] Requisition of real property for German use is carried out through a commission located at the prefecture. The actual order for expropriation is issued by the mayor of the commune in which the property is located. Owners are compensated from funds in the hands of the commission. French authorities cooperate with German in receiving the arms which the population is required to surrender. Such arms are turned in to the Feldkommandantur, Kreiskommandantur, local city hall, or local French police or gendarmerie.[3]

German local offices exercise control over German nationals in France. All civilians are required to register with the Kreiskommandantur and to report any change of address.[4] Claims for indemnification for war damage to German nationals or German property are handled by the Feldkommandant with jurisdiction over the place where the damage was caused, subject to appeal to the Military Governor. In investigating the claim, the Feldkommandant must consult the Landesgruppe Frankreich of the organization of the Nazi Party abroad, if the claimant's residence was in France, or the

1. Ibid., 29 August 1940; 7 July 1941.
2. Ibid., 5 October 1940.
3. Verordnungsblatt, 18 March 1942.
4. Ibid., 25 February 1942.

Beratungsstelle für Velksdeutsche in Paris if his residence was in Germany.[1]

3. Special Zones. German authorities have established a number of special zones in which they take special measures and insist upon somewhat tighter controls than in the rest of the occupied territory. One of these is the so-called Forbidden Zone, including the northern and eastern parts of France; the line starts from the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Somme River, proceeds eastward through Amiens, passes somewhat south of Laon, apparently follows the course of the Aisne, passes through Chaumont and east of Dijon, finally ending near the southern end of Lake Geneva. (This description of the course of the line is only approximate; in any case the line was shifted locally from time to time.) A coastal zone runs along the Atlantic coast from the Somme to the Spanish frontier, at a distance of some thirty kilometers from the coast but so drawn as to cut deeply inland back of the larger peninsulas. Between Cherbourg and the Belgian frontier the beaches themselves form another special area. The extension of the coastal zone north of the Somme through the Forbidden Zone is called the Maritime Zone. Regulations applying in these different zones are not always known in detail. Restrictions on entry into and travel within the zones are common to all of them.[2] In the Coastal Zone, all persons whose principal residence was not there were forced to leave, by order of German military authorities. Residents may obtain permits for entry into the zone by applying to the Kreiskommandant.[3] Change of residence even within the

1. Ibid., 1 April 1941.
2. Bulletin of International News, XVII, 1679 (31 December 1940).
3. Order of Military Governor, 6 October 1941.

zone is forbidden. Later regulations provide for presentation of the request for a permit to the mayor for transmission to the Feld- or Kreiskommandantur; only in the most urgent cases may German authorities be approached directly.[1] Recently there has been still further limitation, at certain strategic points with regard to persons allowed to remain. Certain cities with important military or naval installations have been ordered evacuated by all except essential civilians, while possible sites of invasion have in some cases been ordered cleared of all except Germans.

The northern Forbidden Zone presents the special problem of resettlement in an acute form. A large part of its population fled before the oncoming Germans. Although the Armistice provided in general terms for the return of French refugees through the aid of the French Government, the Armistice Commission ruled that they might not return immediately to certain zones. The restriction was not long retained in the Coastal Zone. It persisted, however, in the Forbidden Zone, where it was apparently part of a clear policy of replacing French population by Germans. No prisoners of war from this area were returned, and heavy levies were made for labor in Germany.[2]

4. Judicial Affairs. Legal matters in France remain largely in the hands of the French courts. German decrees and regulations must, however, be enforced as the law of the land.[3] French prosecutors must turn over to German military tribunals all records of cases involving the following

1. Le Moniteur Officiel du Commerce et de l'Industrie, 11 February 1943, p. 172.
2. Pour la Victoire, 17 April 1943.
3. VOBl., 21 June 1940.

matters: offenses against the German Army or the personnel attached to it, offenses committed in buildings or other space turned over to the German Army, and offenses against German regulations for the security of the Army or the accomplishment of the purposes of the occupation.[1] The German tribunal will examine the record and, if it is interested, conduct the trial; otherwise the papers will be returned to French authorities to be handled under French procedure. In addition to their usual competence, German military tribunals are empowered to try cases of German or Italian nationals accused of minor crimes (délits, in French law), even if these crimes were committed before the occupation. German military tribunals apply the German military penal code. A proclamation of 20 June 1940 lists some of the offenses which would make the perpetrator subject to trial under military law: assistance to non-German military personnel, aid to civilians fleeing occupied territory, transmission of information abroad to enemies of Germany, relations with prisoners, any offense against the German Army or its command, gatherings in streets, strikes or incitement thereto.[2]

Various non-judicial German authorities have quasi-judicial powers. Penalties may be inflicted by these persons (imprisonment up to six weeks and/or fine up to 30,000 Reichsmarks). Such punishment does not preclude civil trial and punishment for the same offense.[3] Authorities empowered to inflict such penalties are the Kreiskommandanten (Feldkommandant where there is no competent Kreiskommandant), the Kommandant of Greater Paris, and officials of the Sicherheitspolizei.[4]

1. Ibid.; 23 September 1940.
2. Ibid.; 20 June 1940.
3. Ibid.; 21 June 1940; 23 September 1940; 10 August 1942.
4. Ibid., 1August 1942.

French authorities are required to take part in German judicial administration by executing sentences of imprisonment imposed by German tribunals when the German authorities so request. Another type of case in which French authorities may be required to help Germans is the recovery by force of fines imposed as disciplinary measures by Kreiskommandanten (or other persons authorized to take such action). The Kreiskommandant may order the French percepteur to effect recovery. If there is a plea for suspension of the sentence, the Kreiskommandant may require the percepteur to make investigations, examine witnesses, and submit to the Kreiskommandant an advisory report written in German.[1]

C. Vichy Zone

1. Armistice Commission. As pointed out above, while the Vichy Zone remained unoccupied German control functioned through the Armistice Commission, which was an institution on an international plane. Its direct action was confined mostly to examination of incoming ships and supervision of airfields. Special commissions were established at all the principal airfields of the Vichy Zone for the control of personnel and material. The staff at Lyon consisted of 138 officers and non-commissioned officers and about ten inspectors.[2] A report from Switzerland of December 1942 indicates that the Armistice Commission at Wiesbaden was dissolved because the occupation of the Vichy Zone made it superfluous. French officials henceforth are to negotiate with von Rundstedt and von Nidda.[3]

1. Ibid., 2 September 1941.
2. Combat, No. 2, December 1941.
3. Washington Star, 14 December 1942.

2. Legislative and Executive Powers. When the Germans occupied the Vichy Zone in November 1942, their occupation seems to have been given purely an operational significance. In form, no change was made in the powers of the Vichy Government, and the Germans did not assume in the Vichy Zone all the powers that they have in the Paris Zone. Actually, the Germans moved in and established local controls much like those in the Paris Zone. The manner of legislation continues as before, with the Vichy Government making laws for the Vichy Zone and Paris Zone with German approval, and the Military Governor issuing decrees for the Paris Zone only. However, in January 1943 German liaison headquarters were to be established at every prefecture, with principal headquarters at every regional prefecture. These groups were expected to deal with the prefect who would pass their orders on to such French officials as the regional military commissioners (commissaires régionaux militaires) for billeting; labor inspectors (inspecteurs de travail) for labor recruits; inspectors of industrial production (inspecteurs de production industrielle) for merchandise vouchers; road and bridge engineers (ingénieurs de ponts et chaussées) for transport; and treasury agents (trésoriers-payeurs généraux) for financial matters. Such an office is known as a Verbindungsstab and corresponds roughly to the Feldkommandanturen of the Paris Zone. That at Lons-le-Saulnier (Jura) had a staff of about twenty-five persons. It also dealt with incidents between the German troops and the population. A German office was said to be located in every town of ten thousand or more; smaller towns were not the seat of permanent military headquarters, although

temporary headquarters might be established there from time to time.[1] In Toulouse German administrators were attached to the French offices for highway police, state police, and the protection of state property for war industries.[2] German police personnel were to be found throughout the Vichy Zone (police activities will be described in detail below).

3. Special Zones. In the Vichy Zone as in the Paris Zone, certain areas were set aside which were especially important from a strategic point of view. One stretches the length of the Spanish frontier and others cover almost the whole length of the Mediterranean coast. The usual restrictions as to travel, entry, and residence apply here as in the special areas of the Paris Zone. Evacuations have been carried out at strategic points, although to a somewhat less extent than in the Paris Zone. A rumor that the entire population of able-bodied men was to be evacuated from a wide strip along the Mediterranean coast is unsubstantiated.

III. GERMAN POLICE ACTIVITY

A. Organization of French Police under the Third Republic

Before the German invasion the normal pattern of French police organization placed the police of all except the largest municipalities under the control of the mayor as chief police officer. In addition to such police, a national police organization provided forces for the largest cities

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1. Interview report, London, 12 May 1943.
2. Fighting French Commissariat of Interior, London.

and performed investigative, detective, and counter-espionage services for the nation as a whole. Military police (gendarmerie) were held in reserve to be called in as shock-troops by civil authorities in case of need. Control at the top was vested in the Ministry of Justice for judicial police functions (principally the pursuit and bringing to justice of criminals), the Ministry of the Interior for administrative police functions (general surveillance for the purpose of preventing criminal activity), and the Ministries of War and Navy insofar as these controlled the various units of gendarmerie.

B. Organization of French Police under Vichy

Under Vichy, the police of all towns of over ten thousand population was placed under state rather than municipal control and made dependent upon the Minister of the Interior, Pierre Laval, whose cooperation with German authorities is notorious. In towns down to two thousand population (and in exceptional cases, in smaller ones) the elected mayors and municipal councils were set aside and replaced by men appointed by Laval. Thus the local police services came to be dependent on the central power through these municipal authorities. Collaborationist attitudes on the part of individual police personnel are by no means assured, however, except in the case of Laval's French Militia (formerly the Service d'Ordre Légionnaire), a body variously estimated as consisting of from ten to thirty thousand men inspired by enthusiasm for the New European Order.

Until May 1942, French police matters were handled solely by the French Government at Vichy. German police

were found in France, indeed, but usually pursued their own independent investigations and carried cut their own operations, sometimes with the help of French police but without interfering with French police operations. However, the general lack of collaboration on the part of French police finally necessitated the appointment of a chief police officer for France, the Höhere SS und Polizeiführer, with offices in Paris. He is assisted by a Governor of Security Police (Befehlshaber der Sipo und des SD). Probably offices in Vichy were established at the same time, but until the occupation of the Vichy Zone German police activities there were kept very much under cover.

C. German Police Organization in France

The two most prominent types of German police in France are the Gestapo and the Feldgendarmerie. There is no direct evidence of the presence of any units of Geheime Feldpolizei or of Schupo Barrack Battalions. The Gestapo maintains representatives in many of the French ministries and their subdivisions. It has headquarters in Paris and a sub-office in Vichy.[1] The chief of the Gestapo is responsible to Oberg, of the SS, who is in turn responsible to Himmler. Oberg is probably on the same level as the head in France of the WiRu (see under "Economic Controls") or the chief of the Administrative Staff from the point of view of subordination to the Military Governor. The Gestapo uses French state police units to conduct its inquiries and may also have assumed some direction over the French police charged with the surveillance of subversive movements. A report of a refugee from France states that two members

1. France, 5 September 1942.

of the French political police in Lyon (members of the State police) are in the pay of the Gestapo. Some of the reported activities of the Gestapo in France are the tracking down of French patriots,[1] and the control of passports and foreign currency at the frontiers. The SD headquarters in Rennes announced that, as of the beginning of 1943, it would have sole responsibility for surveillance over, and imposition of restrictions on, foreigners living in French occupied territory[2] (it is not clear whether this means the old Paris Zone, or the whole of France.) Gestapo and SD officials are considered civil police; they wear either plain clothes or the usual SS uniform.

In addition to Gestapo and SD, units of the Feldgendarmerie, a military police, function in France. They are stationed at various Kommandanturen, where they maintain discipline among the civilian population if French police break down. They often provide patrols and examine papers in prohibited areas, and sometimes conduct searches and make arrests. The Feldgendarmerie often function with the assistance of French gendarmerie, to whom they give orders through the prefects and mayors in ordinary cases, although they give their orders directly in more urgent cases. The Feldgendarmerie in Brittany has been described as having its central office at the Feldkommandantur at Quimper and making periodic visits to other cities. Its functions are the patrol of roads and the interrogation and arrest of hostages. In the latter activity the French police collaborate.

D. Influence of German Police on French Police

Shortly after the German occupation of the Vichy Zone

1. New York Herald Tribune, 22 July 1943.
2. Dépêche de Brest et de l'Ouest, 15 January 1943.

the official press agency, OFI (German-controlled successor to Havas), declared that French police continued to operate with full independence and under the sole authority of the French Government.[1] However, much other evidence gives the lie to this assertion. A member of the French administration now escaped from France described the situation in Marseille in the spring of 1943 as follows: about 1,500 German police were there, including Gestapo, Sicherheitspolizei, and Feldgendarmerie. Division of jurisdiction among them is confused, one group often launching on an investigation already being handled by another. Relations with French police are through the Intendant de Police, an officer appointed by the Minister of the Interior to cooperate with the regional prefect. German police intervene in French police matters at will, and when they themselves fail to solve a case usually blame the French police.[2] The Gestapo in Toulon makes many arrests arising from difficulties between the French population and the Germans.[3] The Gestapo arrived at Montpellier with the nominal purpose of searching for clandestine radio transmitters. Actually its purpose was to instruct and control French police. A large number of French-speaking German police were expected to appear as Vichy police inspectors for this purpose.[4]

Very prominent among the recent activities of the German police, probably particularly of the Gestapo, is the rounding-up of persons to send to work in Germany. They carried on round-ups in the Vichy Zone before the occupation of that area. Such raids are usually accomplished by forces

1. Petit Marseillais, 14 November 1942.
2. Report on interview, 12 May 1943 (London).
3. La Marseillaise, 21 February 1943.
4. Fighting French, London, Bureau Central de Renseignement et Action, 29 September 1942.

composed partly of French police and partly of German, and are led by German police officials.

In addition to the above types of police, which are the most common, a coastguard service, the Marine Küstenpolizei, patrols the entire coastline of Occupied Europe, including France. Its duties, performed in conjunction with the other security services, are those of harbor police and the assurance of port security. It wears the uniform of the Wasserschutzpolizei, which guards the waterways and ports of the Reich, with a yellow armband added to signify their attachment to the armed forces. A Hafenkommandant, reported to be stationed at St. Brieuc, is probably a member of this service. Hafenüberwachungsstelle, under the German Navy, supervise crews and passengers on incoming ships.[1]

Another security branch which is set up under the command for Western Europe and which undoubtedly operates in France was announced in March 1943. It is under the jurisdiction of von Rundstedt, Commander in Chief of the German Armed Forces in Western Europe, and its head is Police General Oberg, head of the Gestapo in France. Special units located in all industrial centers make up this new department. Their function is to combat civilian uprisings which may take place in case of an Allied landing.[2]

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1. VOBl., 17 June 1942.
2. FCC daily report, 24 March 1943.

IV. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CONTROLS

A. Control and Exploitation of Existing Stocks

1. Wehrwirtschafts-und Rüstungsamt. The German administrators in France have placed emphasis on one phase or another of economic control, according to the principal purpose of the Germans at the time. The initial period, from the first occupation until after the Battle of Britain, was conceived as a short-term affair, in the full expectation that the battle would be a quick victory for Germany and that economic reorganization of France could then be accomplished at leisure. In this period the German object was to drain France of whatever stocks of finished products, food, or raw materials might be of immediate use to Germany. The time element was so conceived that the placing of orders for manufacture in France or the recruiting of French labor for manufacture in Germany was of secondary interest. The Wehrwirtschafts-und Rüstungsamt (WiRü), responsible to the Supreme Command and to the Ministry of Armaments, was the instrument for the initial looting. A Special War Economy and Armament Board had to be established in France. It administers not only special purchasing offices and special guarantee offices,[1] but also four [sic] Armaments Inspection Corps, each of which disposes of its own field offices, economic troops, and salvage squads. These units...work for the military needs of Germany, whether these are direct needs, like economic support of the German troops stationed in France, or indirect ones, like shipping to Germany the raw materials uncovered (aufgespurt) in the occupied

1. The main task of the purchasing offices is provisioning the armed forces engaged in the campaign against Britain. The main duty of the special guarantee offices is to collect the arms and ammunitions in the possession of the vanquished peoples.

region ... This work of the WiRü units must be done repeatedly. Again and Again, secret Stockpiles are uncovered ...; elsewhere, finished goods wait for expert packing and shipping in order to eliminate bottlenecks in German production. Four salvage squads and three special divisions of the Todt Organization are at the disposal of the /German/ armaments inspectors in Paris for dismounting machinery ..."[1]

Another source of materials in France was exploited somewhat later. The Germans found that the French had not been suing scrap of various sorts to any great extent. The Service de la récupération et de l'utilisation des déchets et vieilles matières was set up under the supervision of the economics section of the German Administrative Staff. The French prefects in each department were placed in charge of collections, which began in 1941.[2]

2. Reichskreditkassen. The WiRü units function best in the earliest stages of occupation, when they take over abandoned stockpiles or installations, protect them from further damage, and convert them where possible to German use. However, in more settled circumstances outright confiscation is undesirable, inasmuch as German authorities wish to avoid arousing the resentment of the civilian population. The Reichskreditkassen, one for each occupied country, are the German answer to the problem. They are banks of issue attached to the Army and directed from Berlin.[3] Their principal function is to supply invading forces with currency for necessary purposes -- a special currency which has no value whatsoever outside the particular occupied country and which is

1. Baumgarten "Die Neue Waffe," October 1940 (cited in Foreign Policy Reports, 1 June 1942).
2. Chemische Technik, Berlin, 17 October 1942 (Digest of European Newspapers and Periodicals, 14 June 1943).
3. Foreign Policy Report, 1 June 1942, p. 68.

exchangeable with native currency at a rate fixed by the German authorities.[1] With this money the Germans purchase what suits their fancy -- they can pay generous prices because Germany has no intention of redeeming the notes -- and the sellers take this money to French banks, which are forced to exchange it for French francs at the official rate. The local banks pass the money on up until it reaches the central bank of issue, where it can only be piled up uselessly. Thus Germans "purchase" what they want at the expense of the French Government, while the individual sellers are often well satisfied with their payment.[2]

To facilitate the above operations, it is important to the German authorities that they know where stocks of goods are to be found. Hence an ordinance of 20 May 1940, applying to the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France, rules that all merchandise listed in the annex to the ordinance must be considered requisitioned (except a "reasonable supply" found in private households), and ownership of it may not be transferred without the permission of the German authorities. Furthermore, every possessor of such goods must furnish a monthly inventory thereof to the German authorities.[3] This check on available goods is carried to the point of not permitting the German Army or its agents to purchase rationed food supplies without presenting food cards or requisition slips signed by commanding officers of the grade of Feldkommandant or higher.[4]

3. Armistice Commission. In the Vichy Zone the Armistice Commission, through its local commissions, controls the cargoes of incoming ships. When a ship comes to port no one may leave

1. Ibid., p.69.
2. Ibid., p.69.
3. VOBl., 21 June 1940.
4. Ibid., 20 April 1941.

it and nothing may be taken off until the agents of the Armistice Commission have inspected the cargo to determine what part of it shall be shipped on to Germany. Usually 60 to 80 percent, and sometimes the whole cargo is taken. This happened to foodstuffs from North Africa which were brought to Marseille.[1]

4. Enemy and Jewish Property. It is not clear to what extent the Germans seized enemy property in France. Again, as in the case of goods liable to requisition, such property had to be declared to a German office in Paris.[2] After the first order extensions were made to include Russian property (31 July 1941)[3] and American property (22 December 1941). The latter was to be declared to a special Office for the Declaration of American Property in Paris; its address is, however, the same as that of the Office for the Declaration of Enemy Property.[4] All American interests were taken under German trusteeship. American plants are being operated to produce for Germany.[5]

Another source of loot for Germany was Jewish property. A fine was imposed on the Union des Israélites (a compulsory association established by a French law of 29 November 1941) by the German Military Governor. The proceeds of the levy were to be deposited at the Reichskreditkasse. French authorities were made responsible for the assessment and collection of this fine.[6] (See below, V.)

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1. New York Times, 23 March 1942.
2. VOBl., 22 November 1940.
3. Ibid., 22 August 1941.
4. Ibid., 5 January 1942.
5. New York Times, 14 February 1942, section 5.
6. VOBl., 20 December 1941.

From the Bank of France the Germans seized gold deposits belonging to Belgium and Poland. Belgium thus lost $228,000,000 and Poland $62,000,000 worth of gold.[1] This gold had been received with the understanding that the Bank of France would, if possible, keep it from falling into German hands. This promise was not kept. In the case of the Belgian gold, it was shipped back into Occupied France after it had been sent to Dakar.

5. Control of Franco-German Economic Collaboration. A very important French agency has been set up at German request to deal with the broadest problems of Franco-German economic collaboration. It is the "Délégation Générale aux Relations Economiques Franco-allemandes,"[2] at first headed by Jacques Barmaud. The Délégation Générale was organized within the Paris branch of the French Treasury to centralize and coordinate all negotiations of an economic character; it is in constant touch with the German Services of the Hotel Majestic, under Dr. Michel, and with the French economic experts attached to the Armistice Commissions.

In certain French ministries there are also special offices in charge of Franco-German problems. For instance, at the French Treasury, Secrétariat Général des Affaires Economiques, Direction des Finances Extérieures et des Changes, there was a "Franco-German Section" under Jacques Berthoud. In the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Supply, as reorganized in 1942, there was also, within the Minister's Cabinet, a "Special Section" in charge of negotiations with the occupying powers. In the Ministry of Industrial Production there was, according to the decree of 30 April 1941, a

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1. Christian Science Monitor, 1 April 1943; New York Times, 7 November 1942.
2. Law of 23 February 1941.

Service des Affaires Extérieures in charge of all questions pertaining to the application of the Armistice, to the relations between France and the occupying powers, and eventually to the fulfillment of those conditions of the peace treaty which would refer to industrial production.

B. Controls over Industrial and Agricultural Production

After the intensive period of direct requisition of stocks for German use, German economic administration in France was concerned primarily with turning French capacity for production, both industrial and agricultural, to German use.

1. French Controls before German Invasion. Before the war, both industry and agriculture had remained essentially free of state controls. Heavy industry, in particular the manufacture of steel and aluminum and the mining of coal, were in many cases under extra-governmental associations which were of great influence but which were voluntary in form. In the agricultural field, too, powerful associations, like those of wheat growers or sugar-beet producers, represented the most important farmers and were active in promoting protectionist policies; these also, however, were voluntary in form.

Many wartime agencies changed this outlook and paved the way to the new Vichy setup.

To carry out its armament programs, the French Government had deemed it necessary to deal with a small number of industrial associations which would be responsible for their members' cooperation. Such problems as the supply of raw materials, the centralization of imports, the allocation of ordnance orders, and price control had led the government to form "licensed group of producers and traders" responsible for the procurement of a definite category of raw materials

under the supervision of the state. Such groups had already been forecast, in fact, by the law of 11 July 1938 concerning the general organization of the nation in wartime (Art. 49).

Later on, a decree of 27 October 1939 provided for the establishment of "Foodstuffs Purchases and Allocation Boards." These Boards were held responsible for the supply of specific foodstuffs and had regional branches throughout the country.

Those men who had been entrusted by the French Government in 1939-40 with industrial and agricultural mobilization were largely the same who were to be entrusted by Marshal Pétain with the task of supervising the post-armistice economy of the country.

This supervision was achieved in the industrial field through two fundamental laws and, in agriculture, by a long series of laws and decrees.

2. Industry. The two fundamental laws referred to above are those of 16 August 1940, creating the Organizing Committees, and of 10 September 1940, creating the Central Office for Allocation of Industrial Products.

a. The Law of 16 August 1940. A threefold necessity underlay the law, according to M. René Belin, Secretary of State for Industrial Production and Labor, in his introductory Report. Private activities needed to be brought within the framework of national requirements; remedies had to be found for those industries which suffered from a lack of raw materials or from insufficient demands; special assistance needed to be granted to those activities which were of particular importance to the majority of consumers. To attain these aims "French production required a powerful and

efficient leadership in which state's and employers' representatives would be closely associated."

As a first step, the government suppressed the pre-war national organizations which had represented in the past, and on a national scale, the specific interests of employers and workers; the ground of the suppression was that their activity had been much more political than economic. The dissolved organizations included:

Confédération Générale du Travail

Confédération Générale de la Production Française

Comité des Forges

Comité Central des Houilleries de France

The activities of the new Organizing Committees included a census of industrial capacity, control of production, price control, and adoption of standardized methods of production. At the end of 1941, taking account of the lack of raw materials and of the German insistence on obtaining French workers for Germany, it was decided to resort to "planned production." According to a law of 17 December,[1] certain plants could be temporarily shut down by the Ministry of Industrial Production; in that case the Organizing Committees were authorized to levy special fees on the plants which were kept running and to allocate them between industrialists whose plants had been closed to allow amortizations, payment of bond interest, repair and maintenance. In May 1942, Pierre Laval and Jean Bichelonne, Secretary of State for Industrial Production, called a meeting of the Presidents of the Organizing Committees and informed them that the Germans required 350,000 French workers and that French

1. Journal Officiel, 23 December 1941.

industry must therefore find means of economizing on manpower. The decision to group productive enterprises together and to close down lesser businesses was left by the Germans to the Vichy Government, which acted on the advice of the Committees. This was a further extension of the responsibilities of the Committees.

Membership in the Organizing Committees is determined by an agreement between governmental authorities, namely, the functionaries of the Ministry of Industrial Production, and employers in the field which is to be placed under a Committee. Labor is completely banned from the new industrial setup.

Organizing Committees are placed under State Control; a government commissioner, who is practically a functionary of the Minister of Production, must attend their most important meetings and approve or disapprove their most important decisions (Articles 3 and 5). But members of the Committee are not state employees. They are usually private business men selected by the government from a list of names prepared by the producers in every field. All expenditures of the new committees are paid from fees which are levied on all members of the industry concerned; their accounting is submitted to the approval of the treasury (Art. 4).

The Organizing Committee have the broadest powers; their decisions are compulsory for all members of the industrial group concerned. In fact, some activities which originally belonged to the Committees have been shifted to new agencies; allocation of raw materials is supervised by the several boards for the allocation of raw materials which will

be described hereafter; with regard to price control, the Committees only act in an advisory capacity. But their control over production is practically unlimited: plants may be closed, workers shifted from one factory to another, markets reserved for outstanding producers, and special kinds of machinery and equipment imposed upon certain industries.

If producers under the Committees fail to respect their decisions, penalties may be imposed upon them, with a maximum of 10 percent of their actual turnover; violators may also be excluded from any participation in the operations of the Committees (Art. 7).

Members of Organizing Committees are usually the leading producers in every field or the highest employees of leading concerns; there is normally a chairman, or responsible director, of the Committee, assisted by vice-chairmen and by an advisory committee. A bureaucratic staff is in charge of the daily operations of the Committees. At the end of 1941, more than one hundred Organizing Committees had already been created.

b. The Law of 10 September 1940. This law created a Central Allocation Board for Raw Materials under the supervision of the Ministry of Production. Its chief was, for a long time, M. Jean Bichelonne, but it was announced recently (December 1943) that General Inspector Salmon was in charge of the central operations of allocating raw materials. This Board includes a small staff of statisticians, economists, and administrators. Around this Central Board, there are twelve Sections dealing with specific commodities:

Pig Iron and Steel;

Non-ferrous Metals;

Coal;

Petroleum, Gasoline, Liquid Fuels;

Chemicals;

Textiles;

Paper and Paper Containers;

Leather and Hides;

Rubber and Carbon Black;

Lumber;

Industrial Fats and Soap;

Building Materials;

Miscellaneous Commodities.

Each section is in charge of the allocation of the raw materials which it supervises to industrial users. It supervises the purchases, inventories, and sales of these raw materials. It can:

(1) compel producers to sell to certain consumers, and consumers to buy from certain producers;

(2) prohibit or restrict the use of raw materials for certain purposes;

(3) enforce and supervise the sale of existing stocks of raw materials and commodities.

Each Section is directed by an "Allocator" (Répartiteur), assisted by an advisory committee and supervised by a governmental commissioner. All the decisions of the Allocator are submitted to the government commissioner, who has a right to veto them. These Sections have regional offices throughout the country to deal with the local aspects of raw materials allocations; for instance, the Coal Section has twelve regional offices in the Northern Zone and nine in the Southern Zone.

There is no German appointee within these Sections,

but in each of them a French employee (e.g., an Alsatian with perfect knowledge of German) is in special charge of negotiations with the Germans under the Allocator. The Allocator deals with the most important problems, and the specialized employee supervises the daily routine operations.

From the standpoint of economic collaboration between France and Germany, the Central Board and these Sections are likely to be much more important and influential than the Organizing Committees themselves. They are a true and pure bureaucracy with no special industrial problems, and their social and human implications, to solve.

Their members (Allocators and their staffs) do not belong to the regular French civil service; the Allocators are selected by the Minister of Industrial Production, generally among former high employees of French industry, and they select in turn their own staff. They are usually much better paid than regular French governmental employees of similar rank; in fact, there is no clear-cut distinction between the bureaucracy of the organizing Committees and that of the Sections of Allocation with regard to background and social origin. It even happens that an Allocator is simultaneously the responsible leader of some important organizing Committee; such has been the case for textiles.

The Organizing Committees serve as the channel through which German orders are passed to individual enterprises. The procedure in placing an order is as follows: once the necessary permission for placing the order in France has been secured in Germany, the order is forwarded to the Zentralauftragsstelle (Central Order Office) in Paris. If Germany grants raw materials for filling the order, as is

the case with steel, German vouchers for the raw material accompany the order and must be exchanged for French vouchers to be given to the enterprise taking the order. Before final placement the Zentralauftragsstelle, which is responsible to the Ministry of Economics, must obtain the sanction of the Economics Section of the German Administrative Staff in France, responsible finally to the Supreme German Command and therefore the guardian of the interests of the Army. Finally the order, with any accompanying vouchers, is handed to the Organizing Committee to be allocated to the manufacturer or manufacturers who can best fill it. The representative of the German Economics Section on the Organizing Committee is present when this allocation is made. A person who escaped from France in March 1943 brings the report (unconfirmed by any other evidence at hand) that the Germans have stopped buying French goods and closed the German purchasing offices in Paris. This appears to refer to the Zentralauftragsstelle.

3. Agriculture

a. General Organization. Agriculture was organized on lines roughly similar to those for industry. The associations regulating production are the Allocation Offices. They control the collection of crops, which are then handed over to distributing agencies, except for a few specific products controlled by special organizations. Cantonal commissions under the Allocations Office collect produce, give the producers pay vouchers according to the purchase prices fixed by the Secretary of State for Agriculture, and dispatch the supplies collected. These commissions operate under departmental directors.[1] If collection is difficult,

1. Tissier, Pierre, Government of Vichy, pp. 250-51. Law of 27 September 1940.

requisitions may be issued to producers through the mayors of communes, and, if necessary, the gendarmerie may be ordered to seize the goods. The Germans have named agricultural leaders (Landesführer), one for each arrondissement, to keep detailed accounts of the production of individuals.[1] Joint Committees performing functions similar to those of the Allocation Offices have been set up for special products, such as wheat and other cereals, wine, dairy produce, horses and mules, fisheries, vegetable oils and fats, and meat. These products are removed from the competence of the Allocations Offices. A central committee is charged with the allocation of the products, such as fertilizers or feed, most indispensable for agriculture.[2]

Agricultural producers are grouped together in a corporative system, membership in which is compulsory. This is composed of communal units, regional units, and a national unit, the whole under state control. Regional Chambers of Agriculture, which replace the old departmental chambers, are composed half of delegates from the regional corporative units and half of appointees of the Secretary of State for Agriculture.

The regional prefect, representing the national government in the field, has economic powers which he exercises in conjunction with an Intendant des Affaires Economiques, who is usually a career administrator with much knowledge and experience. The prefect exercises supervisory control over all other national personnel dealing with economic matters. His authority covers agricultural and

1. Libération (Zone Sud), 15 May 1943.
2. Tissier, p. 251. Law published 14 June 1941.

industrial production, supply, labor, transport, and national productive equipment.[1] Ministerial decrees are passed on to the regional prefects and intendants, who make the detailed provisions necessary for their execution. Presumably it is the regional prefect that a local German commandant would consult concerning local economic matters.

b. Agencies to Improve French Agriculture. The Germans have given some publicity to their efforts to improve the standards of French agriculture in Northeastern France. It has been claimed that, during the years 1941 and 1942, in Northern and Northeastern France 160,000 hectares of land had been placed under cultivation, and that with the introduction of modern methods of cultivation the yield of the ground had increased considerably. German propaganda has traced this improvement back to a special office which the German military authorities created in order that it might work exclusively towards better French agriculture.[2]

The Ostland Society, created originally to operate in Poland, was charged with the exploitation of "abandoned" farm lands in the Forbidden Zone. According to the Hamburger Fremdenblatt of 8 October 1941, this organization has a main office in Paris with branches in Amiens, Laon, Mezieres-Charleville, Nancy, and Dijon.[3] Field Commanders (Feldkommandanten) in the regions where the Ostland is active name administrators for abandoned holdings.[4] The Charleville headquarters is reported to be headed by a German civilian and to maintain subordinate offices for the

1. Tissier, p. 138. Law published 26 August 1941.
2. Short-wave broadcast, 22 December 1942, from Berlin to North and South America in Spanish.
3. La Marseillaise, 28 June 1942, p. 4.
4. VOBl., 24 November 1940.

arrondissements of Sedan, Rethel, Vouziers, Rocroi, and Stenay. Under these offices are officials for each canton and for each commune. The last are often Austrians, Czechs, or Poles. In 1942 the name of the organization was changed to Reichsland, and the Amiens and Laon sections were merged, the others remaining the same. By the end of 1942, 141,208 German settlers were officially reported; the number may actually be much higher.[1] Cultivation is carried on in large tracts, fences having been knocked down. The product goes directly to Germany. Laborers used are French prisoners of war, deported Jews, and Poles.

According to French sources, the Reichsland Society had introduced by the first part of 1943 about 18,500 Poles in Eastern France as follows:

Departments	Men	Women	Children	Total
Aisne	300	400	500	1,200
Ardennes	7,000	--	--	7,000
Somme	32	51	14	97
Meurthe et Moselle	790	--	959	1,749
Meuse	4,900	--	3,600	8,500
	13,022	451	5,073	18,546

4. German Use of French Machinery of Control. German administration through French officials and institutions has been successful in the economic field. It has been possible to limit drastically personnel in the ten groups of the Economics Section of the German Administrative Staff. (These groups are: General Economic Questions, Land, Forestry, Industry, Foreign Trade, Transport, Labor, Credit, Finance, and Price Questions.) Often one administrative

1. Pour la Victoire, 17 April 1943.

councillor and a single typist can administer an entire section.[1] A report from a reliable source, recently escaped from France, indicates that economy of personnel was not the rule in the field offices. Three to four hundred German civilian officials concerned with economic and financial matters were stationed in Toulon (this probably includes personnel attached to other agencies as well as to Dr. Michel's economics section).

5. German Organizations in France Exercising Economic Controls. The Verbindungsstelle Frankreich is an outgrowth of the former German Chamber of Commerce in Paris. It acts principally as an economic information department. The branch in Paris was established in 1940, and in 1941 another branch was established in Lyon to insure closer contact with the industrial regions of the Vichy Zone. Through the Organizing Committees German orders could be placed in the Vichy Zone, but no detailed supervision such as visits to factories was possible for the German administrative personnel established in the Paris Zone. In the Vichy Zone such direct contact with French production was maintained by the Armistice Commission and its local commissions or subcommissions.

A fairly recent creation in German economic administration in France is the Beschaffungsamt, whose purpose is to coordinate the work of various German agencies in order better to use French productive capacity. The German agencies involved are: Dienststelle Paris des Heereswaffenamtes,

1. Hakenkreuzbanner (Mannheim), 4 December 1942 (article by Dr. Michel).

Aussenstelle des Hauptausschusses III Panzer und Zugmaschinen, Verbindungsstelle für Marine-Beschaffungen, Verbindungsstelle Paris des Generalluftzeugmeisters, Beschaffungsstelle des Luftgaues Westfrankreich, offices in France of Wehrmachtbeschaffungsamt, Aussenstelle Frankreich des Generalbevollmachtigten f.d. Kraftfahrwesen, Aussenstelle der Gen. Vev. für die Technischen Nachrichtenmittel, Dienststelle des Gen. Bev. für die Chemische Erzengung, Zentralstelle für Generatoren, Zentra-Kraft, Bevollmächtigte für die Maschinenproduktion, Beschaffungsstellen der SS, Organisation Todt, Reichspost, and Reichsbahn. The Beschaffungsamt must work closely with Dr. Michel's staff and with the Zentralauftragsstelle, as well as with the French authorities through a French delegate and through the Organizing Committees.[1] This office particularly wants to secure French cooperation in the production of arms and means to use force only if persuasion is ineffective.

Various powers of the German administration enable it to exercise many special controls affecting the whole economic system. An order of 7 May 1943 by the Military Governor rules that any judicial acts affecting means of production must not be executed without special authorization by himself or his delegates;[2] in other words no person having a claim against a firm manufacturing or capable of manufacturing for German order can have a judgment executed to satisfy that claim without German permission. The German authorities also exercise wide control through the allocation of transport facilities. In the case of railroads and inland water

1. Speech of Generalmajor Thoenissen at opening session, 1 September 1942.
2. Cited in Petit Comtois, 15 May 1943 (via FCC ticker).

transport the French Government controlled operation of such facilities before the German occupation. With German requisitions of rolling stock and general increased pressure on the railroads it became necessary for the Germans to participate with French authorities in the allocation of freight transportation. German authorities in France dealing with railroads are the Wehrmachtsverkehrsdirektion and the Eisenbahnbetriebsdirektion (the latter including a security unit). All French traffic managers are duplicated by German administrators. Extensive control is also exercised through the allocation of raw materials and of power; by this means many French industries were forced to close. The Organizing Committees determine all such allocations upon receipt of statements of need from individual enterprises.

6. Price Control. The exercise of price controls is, in general, a duty of French authorities. However, a broadcast of 15 June 1943 from Paris[1] is revealing as to the interference of German authorities in the process: "Decisions of French authorities concerning prices, published in the Bulletin Officiel des Services des Prix, or in the Journal Officiel, are considered as having been decreed with the approval of the German authorities." Indeed, no material may be so published without such approval.

7. German Penetration into French Economic Life. German administrative controls over French industry include a substantial infiltration of managerial and expert technical personnel into individual enterprises.[2] A TASS dispatch from Geneva indicates that 140 such people, from Göring's headquarters, arrived sometime in January 1942.[3] From the earliest

1. FCC: Ticker, 15 June 1943.
2. Kaskeline, Christian Science Monitor, 26 January 1943.
3. FCC report, 7 January 1942.

days of the occupation German authorities assumed the power to appoint temporary administrators for businesses whose proprietors were absent,[1] for enterprises under enemy influence by virtue of ownership or management,[2] and for Jewish enterprises.[3] In November 1940 an ordinance of the Militärbefehlshaber authorized the appointment of special delegates of the German administration to factories. These delegates are to have full information about the installations and the working of the factory and are to have access to the books and take part in all managerial conferences. Their remuneration will be fixed by the authority appointing them and paid by the factory.[4] Finally, an unconfirmed report from Zürich of May 1943 indicates that French factories are to be placed under German military command.[5] In any case, a certain control over corporations is assured by the rule that resolutions of share-holders' meetings are valid only when approved by the Military Governor.[6]

Several different devices have been utilized by the Germans to penetrate into French industry either in France or abroad. First, the Germans have taken over majority or minority interests in some important French businesses. Second, as a counterpart of the requisitions of French goods, the Germans have consented to supply French industry with equipment, certain raw materials, and the communication and use of technical processes. Third, a certain amount of liquidation of French interests in Central and Southern European countries has taken place in which, as these countries

1. VOBl., 21 June 1940.
2. Ibid., 5 October 1940.
3. Ibid., 20 October 1940 and 25 May 1941.
4. Ibid., 30 November 1940.
5. FCC Ticker, 5 May 1943.
6. VOBl., 6 October 1941.

were occupied by Germany, the French were offered in many cases the alternative of being paid or seeing their properties confiscated.

a. Acquisition of Interests by the Germans. One of the most spectacular achievements has been the establishment of the Franco-German concern, Francolor, to take over the widespread Kuhlmann dyestuffs interests, with a 51 percent German participation in the share capital, subscribed by the I.G. Farbenindustrie.

The Germans have also acquired an interest in the publicity side of the Havas agency.

The France-Rayonne company was formed at the beginning of 1941 under German pressure, by the amalgamation of nineteen French corporations normally engaged in cellulose and casein artificial textiles manufacture, with a working capital of 200 million francs. All these corporations retain their financial individuality but are tied to France-Rayonne by a stock company partnership in proportion to their productive capacity. Viscose producers have 85 shares; acetate silk producers have 15 shares; casein producers only 4 shares. Meanwhile, the Germans themselves, on 20 February 1941, had set up a broad cartel embracing any kind of industrial and commercial activities in the realm of artificial textiles -- the Fellstoff und Kunstseide Ring. Under the terms of a ten-year agreement, 33 percent of the France-Rayonne's capital is in the hands of the German Ring. France-Rayonne owns a new factory which was to be built in Roanne, about fifty miles from Lyon. This factory was built according to German plans and outfitted with German equipment. Raw materials and wood pulp were also

supplied by the Germans, who sent a few technicians to supervise the management of the plant. The factory started its operations on 27 April 1942.[1]

The French Government, however, seems to have succeeded in securing the voiding of many negotiations tending to bring about German participation in French industry; in the autumn of 1940, the sale to "non-residents" of French shares and participations was prevented by the French Government. In fact, such a deal as the Francolor one had to be approved by the Vichy Government, and it may even be surmised that the Government itself imposed that deal on the French chemical industry.

b. German Supplies of Certain Raw Materials. When the Armistice of June 1940 was concluded, important stocks of cotton, wool, and jute had been piled up both by the industrials and by the Army Quartermasters. Most of them were delivered to the Germans. The seizure of these stocks, together with its implications for the future of French textiles, was studied jointly by the German textile experts, the French Ministry of National Production, and French industrials, and their conclusions were embodied in the so-called Kehl-Plan. Its main features were as follows:

(1) All stocks of wool, jute, and cotton which had been purchased by the French Quartermasters and piled up in French ports and in the occupied part of France were to be delivered to Germany.

(2) An important quantity of wool, of different kinds, accumulated in manufacture in Northern and Western

1. Agence Economique et Financière, 10 June 1942.

France, was also to be delivered to German industrials and to the German Army for the needs of the occupation corps.

(3) France was also required to deliver a large percentage of collection of its rags and wastes, as well as of its wool and flax current crops, to Germany.

(4) As a counterpart of these deliveries, Germany would supply France with raw materials for the manufacture of artificial fibers; these would consist chiefly of wood pulp and of some paper twine to replace jute. It was also agreed that the Germans would supply France with German equipment and machinery, as well as German methods and patents. The Kehl Plan, therefore, aimed not merely at the exhaustion of French resources, but also at the bringing of the French textile industry within the German orbit.

c. Liquidation of French Investments Abroad. In case of agreement between the German authorities and the French owners, the French insisted upon payment either through the clearing system or in Divisen or equivalent. One exception, however, was the sale of the Mines de Bor, a French-owned copper mine in Jugoslavia, negotiated by Laval. Payment for the sale was to be made from the occupation costs.

In the case of the Yugoslav Charbonnages de Trifail, the Roumanian Petrol Companies of Colombia and Concordia, the Banque Commerciale Roumaine, and the Banque Générale de Crédit Hongrois, payment was to be made by the transfer of French external bonds issued in Holland, which had been obtained by the German.

Further liquidation included the relinquishing of the Schneider participations in the Société des Mines et Forges and the Berg und Hutterswerks-Gesellschaft in Czechoslovakia,

which were acquired by the Bohemian Union Bank, and the Société des Usines de Fabrication des Tubes et des Forges de Sosnowice in Poland.

French capitalists with investments in German firms like the Deutsche Bank, Harpener, etc., were obliged to sell their share to the Germans at the normal Berlin stock-exchange rate; the sums were transferred in French francs at the official rate of 20 francs for one RM.

Beside such administrative controls as have been noted, the Germans exercise still other controls in a number of cases through the ownership of shares in French companies. It is said that Germans have insisted upon acquiring shares in return for the allocation of raw materials and have thus acquired large interests in all the largest metallurgical, chemical, and ship-building firms, and 75 percent control of iron ore production in the Briey Basin.[1]

C. Controls over the Use of Manpower

1. Labor for Production in France.

a. Labor Organization under the Third Republic.

Labor organizations in France under the Third Republic had various bases. Starting from the smallest unit, which organized the workers of a particular industry in a particular locality, these units were combined into horizontal associations (unions) including all the units of the locality or department, vertical associations (fédérations) including all units of a particular industry, and, finally, confédérations, joining together unions and federations with similar religious, political, or social tendencies.[2] Theoretically these groups were bound by law to limit their activities

1. Christian Science Monitor, 29 August 1941.
2. Tissier, op. cit., p. 116.

to those interests of their members arising directly from their employment; actually they had been, long before the German invasion, transformed into political organizations using the power of money or the power of numbers to influence political powers.[1]

b. Labor Organization under Vichy. The power and independence of the labor organizations were intolerable to Vichy, which also found their voluntary membership and elected officers incompatible with the theories of the new French state. The whole system was not immediately suppressed, but a law of 16 August 1940 automatically dissolved all the confederations and permitted the dissolution of those other associations whose activities might be found to be injurious to general economic activity.[2] The departmental unions became the most important centers of labor union activity. Many of the units continued their political activity underground as resistance groups, but a number of union officials assumed posts in the Vichy Government and tried to bring union membership to collaboration. A number of new semi-official coordinating groups were set up to perform the functions of the confederations in regard to purely economic activity, to which labor organizations were now strictly limited.

c. Vichy Labor Charter. The above Vichy set-up was, however, only temporary. A decree of 4 October 1941 set forth a labor charter for France.[3] Its publication in the Journal Officiel indicates that it had been given German approval. French workers, according to the charter, are to be organized

1. Ibid., p. 83
2. Ibid., p. 117.
3. Journal Officiel de l'Etat Français, 26 October 1941.

in professional unions on a vocational basis. These unions are to be set up in every industrial district; there are to be separate organizations for employers, workers, foremen, technical personnel, clerical help, and other employees. The unions are to be coordinated according to regions and headed by committees whose task it will be to investigate conditions of work and to arbitrate disputes. Each committee is under the supervision of a government commissioner, and committee members are for the time being appointed, although it is promised that when peace is restored they will be elected by union members. All persons engaged in an organized activity must belong to the union for their special classification, but persons may be excluded for serious and repeated violation of labor laws or activity contrary to the general interests of the country. Dues are deducted from individual pay envelopes and continue to be deducted even if the individual is expelled. The provision of compulsory membership means that the unions possess complete lists of workers in each trade.

The organized groups are to insure security of labor for their members and the maintenance of various institutions for social assistance. Collaboration between employers and workers is compulsorily organized in Social Committees including the head of the establishment and representatives of all classes of personnel (workers, foremen, clerical help, etc.). These Committees are controlled by local Social Committees, which are controlled by regional Social Committees; the latter are in turn controlled by the national Social Committee. Members of regional and national Social Committees are appointed by the

industrial Organizing Committees, with which a German representative sits. Indeed, the union executives are appointed at every stage by the Government, and their proceedings are secret. Therefore they have no dependence whatsoever on the workers whom they theoretically represent. All the former labor organizations were to be dissolved as soon as the new ones were ready to take over, and their funds and property were transferred to the new ones. By January 1943, 2,900 Social Committees had been registered with the Central Bureau of the Social Committees.

Until the program for sending laborers to Germany had removed a substantial number of workers from France, the hiring of labor for work in French factories was no problem. On the contrary, Vichy had to take drastic measures to combat the unemployment produced by lack of raw materials and power and the consequent closing of factories. Little or no difficulty was experienced in hiring laborers for work in the factories still functioning. But by April 1942 the need for manpower was being felt throughout French industry. To free workers, hours of work were being lengthened. A decree of the German Military Administrator for France states that German authorities may regulate hours of work. The Military Governor himself determines hours when a whole region or a whole branch of industry if to be affected, while the Feldkommandant may determine hours for an individual enterprise. Employers are required to submit to the Feldkommandantur statements of the number and type of workers released through the lengthening of hours of work.[1]

1. VOBl., 30 April 1942.

2. Labor for German Auxiliary Army Groups in France.

a. Organisation Todt. Beside working on German orders in French factories, a number of French workers are engaged directly in German projects in France. Most such workers are employed by the Organisation Todt for work on fortifications, especially along the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts. The number of camps of the Organisation Todt in 1941, when intensive construction of fortifications was begun, was 50 to 60; by 1943 the number was over 450.[1] Comprehensive figures on the number of workers involved are lacking. The number demanded for work on Mediterranean fortifications was said to be 100,000.[2] Soon after German occupation of the Vichy Zone 4,000 workers were recruited to work in Toulon alone. The total requests for new recruits for the Organisation Todt in April 1943 was estimated to be about 200,000. It is possible that not all of this number were to be recruited for service in France. Indeed many Frenchmen are serving the OT in Germany, on the Eastern Front, and wherever labor in connection with military installations is needed. On the other hand many Dutch and Belgian and other workers have been brought into OT camps in France.

The ranks of the Organisation Todt are filled by various means. In some cases men serving their term of compulsory service in labor camps have been set to work under its direction.[3] Internees have been taken from their camps and set to work also. In the summer of 1942 over

1. FCC report, 11 June 1943 (Transocean).
2. New York Times, 1 April 1943.
3. News ticker, 13 April 1943 (report from Berne).

twenty-five German employment offices were operating in the Vichy Zone to recruit labor for Germany. In each of these there was a representative of the Organisation Todt, who could presumably pull out any recruit he fancied or draw his quota from the rolls. Under the Vichy compulsory labor laws, French authorities provided such personnel as the German authorities demanded. According to a law published in the Journal Officiel, prefects or mayors who have been appointed by them may call up any French national from eighteen to sixty-five years of age for labor service with occupation troops in the Vichy Zone.[1] The extent or reliance on this kind of recruitment is not indicated.

Like the factories working for Germany, the Organisation Todt suffered from the demand for more and more workers to go to Germany. Many young men assigned to the OT were taken directly from the OT camps and sent to Germany.[2] This means that many had no chance to visit their homes before leaving; it may be a device to facilitate the sending of full contingents to Germany by not allowing any opportunity to go into hiding and escape deportation.

The Organisation Todt in France is directed by a Frontführer from a central office in Paris. A delegate of the French Government is attached to the office to convey to the French authorities any German decisions. The OT also has a number of French social inspectors who serve as liaison agents between the French workers and the German authorities.[3] They are recruited principally from French

1. FCC: ticker, 16 July 1943.
2. FCC report, 22 June 1943 (Lyon radio).
3. News Digest, 16 April 1943 (l'Atelier, Paris, 13 March 1943).

volunteers who have served in Russia.

Once a worker has been enrolled into the Todt, there is no possibility of leaving. An ordonnance issued by the Militärbefehlshaber on 18 December 1942 renders Todt employees guilty of attempted escape liable to the death penalty. The Germans have allowed no official French intervention between the Todt and the conscript workers. Vichy officials admit the absence of any French influence in the Todt labor camp, and the workers have not even the nominal protection of a French organization to safeguard them against the arbitrary will of their employers.

b. Technische Nothilfe. The Technische Nothilfe apparently does not function in the German administrative area of France. While its extension into Belgium and Northern France is contemplated, there are apparently no plans for its use in the rest of France.

c. NSKK. Units of the NSKK (one report specifically mentions ten thousand drivers and mechanics) collaborate with the OT in work on fortifications. From the context these appear, however, to be Germans rather than Frenchmen.[1]

3. Labor for Production in Germany. With the return of Laval to power, the recruitment of French labor for Germany started on a large scale. German exploitation of French labor will be analyzed in the following pages.

a. Stages of Recruitment.

i. Initial Stages. The export of labor from France to Germany began in 1941, chiefly with the deportation of foreign workers. Interned Jews and other refugees were the first victims.

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1. Research Bureau on Population Movements, Population Displacement of France, 31 August 1943, p. 15.

Recruitment of French nationals for work in Germany remained voluntary. Propaganda was launched to persuade Frenchmen that labor in the Reich was remunerative, comfortable, and secure whereas wages in France, blocked by German pressure, lagged hopelessly behind prices, and the standard of living among working-class families was rapidly declining.

Unemployment relief (allocations de chomage) to unemployed workers was sometimes refused on the ground that work could be secured at the German Labor Exchanges (Offices de Placement). Volunteers secured their labor contracts through the German Labor Exchanges; these contracts specified pay and duration of the workers' stay in Germany.

On 1 June 1942, before the beginning of the relève, it was estimated that 160,000 French workers had left for Germany since the Armistice, but that, since many of them had returned to France, the total number of those still occupied by the Nazis did not exceed 70,000.

ii. Concentration of Industry and Commerce.

On 17 December 1941,[1] because of the lack of raw materials and of German insistence on obtaining French manpower for Germany, the first law empowering the Government to reorganize production was promulgated. In May 1942, Pierre Laval and Jean Bichelonne called a meeting of the presidents of the Organizing Committees and informed them that the Germans required 350,000 French workers and that French industry must therefore find means of economizing manpower. The decision to group productive enterprises and to close down businesses was left by the Germans to the Vichy Government, which acted on the advice of the Committees.

1. Journal Officiel, 23 December 1941.

By the end of 1942 about 10,000 factories had been closed down.

On 24 April 1943, all prefects of France were convened by Laval and Bichelonne, and it was announced that 240,000 workers must be transferred from commerce either to fill the gaps left by the departure of industrial workers or to make up the contingents which the Germans were demanding for export to the Reich.

iii. The Relève. In a speech broadcast on 22 June 1942, Laval launched a new recruitment drive; the liberation of the prisoners was made the ostensible excuse for the deportation of the workers. This was the relève which has resulted in three distinct agreements passed between Laval and Sauckel, General Commissioner for German Labor.

In June 1942, the Germans agreed to repatriate 50,000 prisoners in return for 150,000 skilled workers. At the end of December 1942, the Germans offered another 50,000 in exchange for 250,000 workers. In April 1943 they demanded 220,000 deportees and an additional 190,000 French workers for employment in France; further, releases were to continue and in addition 250,000 prisoners in Germany would be transferred to civilian status.

On 21 October 1943 another agreement was announced: older workers would now replace the new ones and the ratio was to be one to one. It must be stressed that the Germans have never felt themselves in the least bound by these agreements.

iv. Compulsory Deportation. In theory relève included only volunteers. But from the summer of 1942 on, compulsion was already being applied in the North Zone. The

Germans demanded quotas of men from different localities and organized joint Franco-German economic commissions to decide on the number of workers to be provided from individual factories; it was left to the employers to designate those who had to leave. After total occupation the system of designating individuals for deportation was extended to the whole of France.

Finally, the conscription of labor was introduced by the law of 4 September 1942. All men from eighteen to fifty years of age and women from twenty-one to thirty-five became liable to placement in work considered by the government to be of national importance. Every French citizen of the designated age group must either be in a position to justify his employment as being in the national interest or must accept compulsory transfer to other work. Further, employment and dismissals can only take place with the assent of the local representatives of the Secretary of State for Labor.

A census of unemployed and partially employed workers followed, and a decree compelled employers to place lists of their personnel at the disposal of the local Labor Exchanges.

The law of 25 November reinforced the powers of the prefects and the Secretary of State for Labor. The following list of categories of workers, arranged in the order in which they would be called up, was included in the text of the new law:

Unemployed.

Partially employed.

Persons employed in enterprises obliged to limit or reduce their activities under the terms of the decrees on

the concentration of industries.

Persons employed for less than forty-eight hours a week.

Persons employed in work not essential to national welfare.

On 2 February 1943 the prefects were ordered to proceed to a general census of men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one. On 15 February there was passed a law making two years' labor service in agriculture, workshop, or factories compulsory for all men born between 1 January 1920 and 31 December 1922. Certain categories of workers, including coal miners, peasants, firemen in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, members of the police, gendarmerie and gardes mobiles, and railway employees, were to be reserved. Students would not be called upon to leave until the end of the academic year.

On 15 February Vichy decreed that, in order to fill the gap left by the departure of specialized workers, it would henceforth be compulsory for factories belonging to specified branches of industry to organize professional training. The expense would be partly or wholly refunded by the State.

On 27 March it was announced that all Frenchmen between the ages of eighteen and fifty, in industry, commerce, banking, insurance, and transport, were henceforth obliged to carry a labor certificate given by the employers or the mayors. Holders of such certificates were forbidden to leave their work without an official transfer order from the Commissioner General for Compulsory Labor.

On 18 May it was decided that, in view of the failure

of the census ordered under the terms of the February decree, a new census of the three conscripted age-groups would be undertaken. Each young man would receive a labor card which he would be required to carry together with his identity card. The labor cards were distributed by the mayors and not by the employers; they were compulsory for all members of the relevant age-group instead of only for those belonging to specified professional categories. On 31 May, Vichy announced the suppression of almost all exemptions in the class which would have been due to be called up for military service. Remaining exemptions were: refugees from Alsace and Lorraine, colonials, freed prisoners of war, ex-combatants of the LVF, and young men who had completed more than two years' military service. It was also stated that all men of the '41, '40, and the last quarter of '39 classes would leave for Germany unless they belonged to the reserved occupations defined in the law of 15 February.

On 18 October, when the fourth Laval-Sackel agreement was announced, the French Government declared its intention of incorporating the '43 class into the age-group subject to compulsory labor.

v. Conscription of Special Categories.

(1) Doctors. The Germans announced in March 1943 that the medical staff of the demobilized Armistice Army was to be transferred to Germany. All the military doctors under forty, not exempt by reason of health, have subsequently been sent for a period of one year's service. On 24 June Vichy announced that the entire medical profession, including students and women, were liable to conscription and that the Secrétariat d'Etat à la Santé et à la Famille

of the deportation schemes. In cooperation with the mayors they are responsible for seeing to the departure of those who had been called upon for work in Germany. It is also to the prefects and mayors that the German authorities turn when they require local labor for fortifications, armaments works, and guard duties.

c. Results. At the end of June 1942 about 160,000 workers had left France for Germany, but, taking account of those who had returned to France, about 70,000 were assumed to be still in Germany.

From 1 June to 31 December 1942, the departures were as follows according to German and French sources:

	Skilled workers	Unskilled workers	Total
German source	127,990	111,760	239,750
French source	137,410	102,970	240,380

For the first semester of 1943, the departures have been as follows:

	Monthly	Total
January	59,400	59,400
February	63,100	122,500
March	123,000	245,500
April	17,600	263,100
May	21,000	284,100
Up to 24 June	66,200	350,300
24 June-13 July	39,800	390,100

Therefore, up to 14 July 1943, 700,000 workers had been occupied in Germany. Of these, about 400,000 were skilled. To these 700,000 workers, it is necessary to add 250,000 former war prisoners released for work in Germany. This brings to a grand total of 950,000, not including

workers returned to France since the beginning of July 1942 and those who died in Germany (notably as a result of Allied bombings).

D. Controls over Financial Activity and Foreign Trade

1. The Reichskreditkasse. The earliest of the German financial controls were imposed through the Reichskreditkasse, with currency manipulation as the means of control. German soldiers entering France were supplied with Reichskreditkasse notes and coins which had the status of legal tender. The exchange rate was set by an ordinance dated 17 May 1940.[1] From time to time the Reichkreditkasse retired certain denominations of coins which it had placed in circulation. The Reichkreditkassen in different countries are responsible to the Council of Administration in Berlin. This Council is composed of a president named by the President of the German Reichsbank and delegates of the Finance Ministry, the Economics Ministry, the Supreme Command, and the Commander in Chief of the Army. Beside regulating the flow of currency, payments, and credit in their respective territories, they may engage in the following operations to carry out the decisions of the Council: buying and selling of commercial paper, making short-term (six months or less) loans, accepting deposits without interest, as well as other banking operations.[2]

2. Banking Controls. German banking manipulations in France have, however, been carried out to a great extent through the French banking system. From July 1940 to July 1941 there was direct German supervision over French banks

1. VOBl., 21 June 1940.
2. Ibid.

through a German official who was at the same time commissioner to the Bank of France and head of the Office for the Supervision of French Banks, which exercised its supervision over all institutions having their headquarters or seat of management (siège social) in occupied territory. Since branch banking was the usual practice in France, the majority of banking establishments were under head offices in Paris. Certain classes of acts had to be submitted to the Office for Supervision for prior approval; if this was not done the acts were null and void.[1] This form of control was ended in June 1941,[2] apparently at about the time the Vichy Organizing Committee for banks with power in both zones, was ready to begin functioning. As noted above in the discussion of German controls over French industrial production, the Germans found it advantageous to work through such committees, to each of which a German commissioner was attached. Activity of German banks in France, through subsidiaries or agencies established there, has apparently increased somewhat.[3]

3. Investment Controls. There is no indication that German authorities exercise any direct investment controls in France. With the general lack of other goods to buy there has been a great and increasing demand for securities. To prevent a disastrous boom Vichy introduced a number of controls, presumably with full German approval since the relevant decrees were published in the Journal Officiel.

Quotation of bonds and shares on the Paris stock exchange, which was limited to state and other public bonds

1. VOBl., 26 July 1940.
2. Ibid., 17 July 1941.
3. New York Times, 20 October 1941 (Dispatch from Berlin).

during the summer and fall of 1940, was resumed on 17 March 1941. But it was immediately submitted to the stringent regulations enacted by the law of 28 February 1941. It stipulated that French or foreign securities could not be quoted on the official market or transferred against payment without the intervention of a broker, a notary, or an approved bank. All shares were to be made out to a named holder and not to bearer. This provision increases the difficulty of transferring stocks -- an operation which can be performed only through agents de change. This law had a twofold purpose:

(1) to allow a strict supervision over shares and transfers, allegedly to prevent huge purchases by the German authorities;

(2) to prevent hand-to-hand transactions, at prices much higher than official quotations, from giving rise to a new kind of black market.

Immediately after the reopening of the Paris Stock Exchange, the French Government passed a new law providing for a tax on appreciation in the value of transferable securities. The rate was 33 percent of the fraction of the appreciation above 5 percent after 19 March 1941. This very high levy was reduced to 20 percent of the earned surplus on 27 July 1941.

The tax resulted in a sharp decline of stock transactions, but further attempts to curb new rises were made. Variations from one stock-exchange session to the other were limited to 3 percent; at the beginning of August 1941 only 1 percent variation was allowed; on 8 August 1941 rises up to 2 percent and decreases up to 3 percent were allowed from

one session to the next.

In February 1942 a Bourse Committee, headed by the Governor of the Bank of France, was established with jurisdiction over all questions concerning Bourse operations and with authority to make and keep the lists of exchange agents.

By a law of 5 May 1941, a Comité Professionnel d'Organisation des Banques was set up by the Vichy Government with extensive powers of reorganization and control of all forms of banking business, including the right to close down banks, order mergers, and lay down rules for business and competition. The Comité consists of a few banking experts, appointed by the Minister of Finance, and a government commissioner. Its executive organ is the Commission de Contrôle des Banques, consisting of the Governor of the Bank of France as chairman, the Director of the Treasury, and the head of the Committee itself.

A large part of French insurance business, particularly reinsurance, was in British hands before the war. Since the Armistice, the Germans have tried to replace the British, chiefly in the field of reinsurance. France has joined the German-inspired European insurance pool, the Vereinigung für die Deckung von Grossriskieren. Branches of ordinary German insurance companies, such as Gerling-Konzern Allgemeine Versicherungs-A.G. and the Aachen-Münchner Feuerversicherungs-A.G., have been opened in France.

According to the German-controlled press in Paris,[1] attempts had been made in October 1941 to organize a European pool of insurance. France was represented at the initial

1. Nouveaux Temps, 29 October 1941.

negotiations by Jacques Guérard, an arch-collaborationist, chairman of the newly created Comité des Assurances.[1]

4. Controls over Foreign Trade. In the field of financial controls affecting foreign trade, control is exercised primarily through French agencies. In the earliest period of occupation German military authorities had regulatory control over the imports and exports of all the western occupied countries,[2] but such control is hardly unusual in time of war. Later the services of the Supreme Command, the Reichskreditkasse, and Devisenkommando units were empowered to request whatever information they might require as to foreign exchange held by, or foreign credits owing to, Frenchmen.[3]

The most far-reaching of any of the German measures in France has been the application of control measures at the demarcation line between the Paris Zone and the Vichy Zone. As far as the Germans were concerned, the Vichy Zone was treated for currency purposes as a foreign country. No means of payment other than ten marks in French or foreign currency might be taken from the Paris Zone to the Vichy Zone. Vichy's regulations prevail in both zones insofar as they are not incompatible with German regulations. Capital in the form of shares may be transferred from one zone to the other, but shares of non-French companies may not be transferred except into German-occupied territory.[4]

Vichy's control of foreign exchange involves a strict control of foreign trade. The French franc, having been

1. 3 February 1941. See Nouveaux Temps, 30 October 1942.
2. VOBl, 21 June 1940.
3. Ibid., 29 August 1940.
4. Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 7 September 1942 (News Digest).

detached from its gold reserves, is to be used exclusively for internal payments and kept strictly out of the field of foreign payments. To make this possible, the Office of Exchanges, under the Secretary of State for National Economy and Finance, was set up to operate in both zones and in North Africa.[1] All payments for imports or exports must be made through this office. The Office receives payments from French importers and pays French exporters in the ordinary internal francs; it also pays amounts in gold or foreign exchange owing to, and receives amounts due from, foreigners.[2] By regulating imports and exports in such a way as to secure an approximate balance in payments, the Office is able to carry on French foreign payments without depleting French reserves of gold and foreign currency. This regulation is carried out by means of export and import licenses, which are required for any such operations.

But the bulk of French exports -- over 70 percent -- go to Germany. Franco-German trade is financed under a clearing agreement of 14 October 1940. This is a multilateral agreement covering payments between France, on the one hand, and Germany, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Norway on the other. The head clearing office is the Verrechnungskasse in Berlin. By the agreement, French exporters are paid with French funds, the debt being reimbursable by Germany. However, no upper limit is set on Germany's indebtedness, and the French credit at the end of 1942 was about 40,000,000,000 francs; the rate for the calculation of clearing debts is fixed at 20 francs to one

1. Tissier, op. cit., p. 268. Law published 1 November 1940.
2. Ibid., p. 270. Order of 6 January 1941.

Reichsmark. The clearing credit, like all French assets in Germany, is blocked, still falling under German laws on trade with the enemy. Although it is generally assumed that a large part of German imports from France is paid for from occupation levies, no exact figures are available.

5. Taxation. There has been little direct intervention by German authorities in the French system of taxation. The Germans exact certain payments on the part of the French Government, but beyond that it is left to find its revenue as best it may and to grant such relief from taxation to individual Frenchmen as war conditions make necessary. An early act of the occupying troops was to rule that customs duties, taxes, and other imposts should continue to be levied in accordance with the laws in force in the territory before 10 May 1940 (this rule applied to all the western occupied territories).[1] It was also provided that the German military authorities might order the imposition of other duties payable in currency, but the evidence at hand does not indicate that this power has been extensively used. German military personnel in France is exempt from all taxes levied for the benefit of the French Government, except in the case of purchases of merchandise, where a tax paid at an earlier stage forms part of the retail price and is difficult to separate.[2]

6. Occupation Costs. The financial situation of France has been profoundly affected by the levy of occupation costs against the French Government. Article XVIII of the Armistice between Germany and France stipulated that the French

1. VOBl., 10 July 1940 (orders dated 23 May).
2. Ibid., 26 January 1941.

Government should bear the costs of maintenance of German occupation troops on French soil, and it is under this provision that the levy is imposed. The original figure was set at 400 million francs a day or 146 billion a year. The costs were at first paid out of the French Treasury, but, beginning on 25 August 1940, the Bank of France was called upon to make special advances to the Treasury to cover them. The amount of this indemnity remained unchanged until 10 May 1941. As a result of a meeting between Hitler and Darlan at Berchtesgaden, the daily indemnity was reduced from 400 to 300 million francs. Since 10 November 1942 and the complete occupation of France by both German and Italian armies, and up to the Italian collapse, the daily costs had been placed at 500 million francs for Germany and 30 million for Italy.

The total yearly costs have been, then, as follows:

1940	76.8 billion
1941	122.5 billion
1942	121.0 billion

To finance occupation costs, the French Treasury periodically makes special arrangements with the Banque de France, which advances money for that purpose. The Banque has, accordingly, opened a new account in her weekly statements, namely, "Advances to the State for Occupation Costs."

These advances amounted to:

142 billion at the end of 1941;
211 billion at the end of 1942.

Since the total occupation costs should have amounted to approximately 320 billion at the end of 1942, it may be concluded that about 110 billion have been paid for occupation costs either directly by the treasury to the German authorities,

or by considering as a part of occupations costs special payments made by the French banks to French individuals who had delivered goods to the Germans.

The German occupation authorities have, therefore, a yearly income of from 120 to 180 billion francs at their disposal to finance the direct costs of occupation, and to pay for all kinds of requisition orders placed among French industrialists, for public works executed in France for the German Army, and the like.

In fact, the Germans do not immediately spend the total amounts of their credits; part of them remain earmarked at the Banque de France as unspent costs of occupation under "Current and Deposit Accounts for the Reichskreditkasse." The study of this special account is particularly illuminating since it gives a fairly good idea of the tempo of German expenditures in France. When it increases, it means that the German authorities do not completely spend what they actually receive from France; when it decreases, it means that, on the contrary, the Germans not only spend what they actually receive but also a part of their special savings at the Banque; this may result from a new influx of German soldiers, from new requisitions, from new public works, or from all these reasons together.

The Reichskreditkasse account, starting from nil in August 1940, reached a maximum of 64.5 billion in December 1941 and declined sharply from 58.5 billion in April 1942 to about 16 billion at the end of 1942 and 8.7 billion in April 1943. Since April 1943 it has slightly increased.

For the entire year 1942, the so-called "Armistice expenditures" amounted to 157.1 billion, as follows:

	Billion francs
Occupation costs	109.5
German soldiers' housing	11.9
French-German clearing	32.6
Miscellaneous (including 2.1 billion paid to Italy)	3.1
	157.1

Whereas the total budget expenditures amounted to 298.5 billion, Armistice expenditures amounted roughly to 53 percent of the total expenditures.

E. Controls over Transportation and Communication

1. General. It is reported that in February 1941 the economic section of the German Administrative Staff had assumed full powers over transport. If so, the Administrative Staff functioned by using French officials. It was later reported that in the middle of 1942 direction and control were transferred to the Reich Transportation Ministry. Here again the reference appears to be to the ultimate authority rather than to the means of exercising control.

The Armistice gave Germany immediate control over maritime shipping (Article XI), air transport (Article XII), railways, roads, and inland waterways (Article XIII and XV). In the case of railroads, the French Government was to turn over without further damage railway lines and equipment, to supply labor for restoration upon demand of the German authorities, and to supply personnel and equipment to maintain normal peacetime service. A subcommission of the Armistice Commission was charged with supervision of the application of provisions concerning transport.

2. Railroad Transport. French railways had been placed under state control in 1937 with the formation of the Société

Nationale des Chemins de Fer (SNCF), in which the Government owned a majority of stock. A majority of the members of the Administrative Council of the SNCF was composed of Government officials.[1] The railways of the Vichy Zone were left under the control of the Vichy Government; those of the Occupied Zone continued to be operated by the French authorities, subject to German control, although some coastal lines were operated by German military personnel.[2] Local branch railroads were, in practice, controlled by the local national official, the prefect. Certain modifications in service were necessary; these were determined in part by the Secretary of State for Commerce, in part by departmental committees of three members each, set up to eliminate duplication in road and rail services.[3] The German control authorities, who presumably dealt with the French officials in charge and did not administer the railroads directly, were the Wehrmachtsverkehrsdirektion and the Eisenbahnbetriebsdirektion, the latter including a special railroad security unit. All French traffic managers were duplicated by German administrators, who thus had extensive powers in the allocation of transport facilities.

3. Motor Transport. The road network is an important adjunct to the railway system. The use of the roads and of motor vehicles by Frenchmen is controlled by the French Secretary of State for Transport who issues the necessary licenses for the use of motor vehicles.[4] The issuing of licenses makes possible control over the number and type of

1. Report of Trade Commissioner, Paris, 22 September 1937.
2. Universal Directory of Railway Officials and Railway Yearbook, 1942-43, p. 218.
3. Tissier, op. cit., pp. 256-7.
4. Journal Officiel, 1 September 1942 (News Digest).

vehicles used. Limitations were imposed in both these matters; licenses also specified the purposes for which motor vehicles might be used. Finally a law on road traffic was put into force as of 1 April 1943 which was almost the exact counterpart of the German law for road traffic in Germany. Such a law obviates all necessity for direct German intervention in French controls over motor traffic. There remains the question of requisition of public and private transport facilities for German use. This is accomplished by routing the German request to the local Chief Engineer for Roads and Bridges, an official responsible to the Secretary of State for Communications. The Chief Engineer then passes the request on to enterprises registered with the Roads and Bridges Service or with the Road Transport Group (a professional association).[1] German authorization is necessary for motor transport crossing the frontiers of Occupied France. A Fahrbereitschaftsleiter attached to the office of the Feldkommandantur (exceptionally, to the office of a nearby Kreiskommandantur) issues the necessary permits; this official is responsible to the Bevollmächtigte für den Nahverkehr in the office of the chief of the military district.[2]

4. Inland Waterways. Another adjunct to the railways and roads are the inland waterways. These have been exploited by French authorities in order to relieve the pressure on the railways.[3] The waterways too are under the French Secretary of State for Communications and are controlled by the National Office of Navigation. Delegates of the Organizing Committee for Inland Water Transport cooperate with the

1. La Garonne, 23 December 1942 (News Digest).
2. VOBl., 19 March 1941, 3 April 1941.
3. FCC report, 7 August 1942 (Transocean).

Office in the control of operations.[1] (As noted above, a German commissioner is attached to each Organizing Committee.) No contract for inland water transport is valid unless countersigned by the regional director responsible to the Office of Navigation.[2] An example of German interference with waterway traffic is an order, probably given for security purposes rather than as a traffic control, of the Feldkommandant of Besançon forbidding traffic on t -paths between certain hours.[3]

5. Commercial Aviation. French commercial aviation was most drastically affected by German orders. By the terms of the Armistice, all flights over French territory were absolutely forbidden. Even in the Vichy Zone, representatives of the Armistice Commission were given absolute control over all airfields (Article XII). These terms were relaxed gradually until in the spring of 1942, a number of airmail services operated in France and from France to Tunis and Wiesbaden. Passenger service of a plane a day in each direction over the circuit Vichy-Toulouse-Marseille-Lyon-Vichy is maintained, as well as a service between Paris and Vichy. The German Armistice Commission gives permission for such operations, which are carried on by the Réseau Aérien Français a company under the control of the French Government through a Department of Airports.

6. Maritime Shipping. Drastic measures were also taken by the Germans with regard to ocean navigation. The Armistice required that all commercial and harbor vessels in French ports remain there until authorized by German and

1. Tissier, p. 259. Law published 23 November 1940.
2. Ibid. Law published 8 May 1941.
3. Le Petit Comtois, 25 March 1943 (News Digest, 3 April 1943).

Italian authorities to sail again. All French vessels outside French ports were to be directed to return and place themselves under similar surveillance (Article XI). Representatives of the Armistice Commission were to control, and still continue to control, the cargoes of incoming ships. Nothing may leave a ship until these inspectors have decided what part of the cargo is to be sent on to Germany. At the time of the occupation of the former Unoccupied Zone, German and Italian authorities seized all except eighteen French commercial vessels. Those left to the French are of small tonnage. They are operated by French companies under the nominal control of the French Government but are very closely supervised by German authorities. It is threatened that if any of the ships makes an unscheduled call, reprisals will be undertaken against the crews and their families of all the ships.[1]

1. Free France, 1 March 1943.

V. ANTI-JEWISH LEGISLATION

A. Anti-Jewish Measures in General

Anti-Semitic activity followed immediately upon the entry of the Germans into France. The Jew-baiting Au Pilori ("To the Pillory") was published, and anti-Semitic demonstrations were organized on the Champs-Elysées and the main boulevards of the capital.[1] A law of August 1940 repealed the Press Law of 1887, prohibiting press attacks upon individuals on religious or racial grounds.

This preliminary propaganda was soon followed by direct action. Until France was completely occupied (November 1942) the German anti-Jewish strategy was as follows:

(1) to provoke anti-Semitic appeals and propaganda in the German-controlled press;

(2) to follow up this propaganda by specifically German anti-Semitic measures to apply only in the occupied zone;

(3) to bring pressure on the Vichy government to obtain the extension of these anti-Semitic measures to all of France, on the threat that, if they were not extended, the fate of the Jews in the occupied zone would be made still worse;

(4) to follow the extension of these anti-Semitic measures by new measures in the Occupied Zone, and so on.

B. German Anti-Jewish Legislation in Occupied France and Alsace-Lorraine

On 21 and 27 August 1940[2] Gestapo agents in Paris made the rounds of the leading Jewish organizations, including the World Jewish Congress, the Jewish National Fund, and the

1. Jewish Affairs (published by the Institute of Jewish Affairs), September 1941, p. 4.
2. Jewish Affairs, September 1941, p. 4.

Ecole Rabbinique. On 3 and 28 November the offices of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency were raided, and some sixty thousand volumes from the libraries of the Alliance and the Ecole Rabbinique were removed to the Institute for Research on the Jewish Problem in Frankfort.[1] On 13 September children's homes administered by Jewish welfare agencies were confiscated, while in Paris most synagogues were closed.[2]

These preliminary steps were followed by the introduction of formal German anti-Jewish legislation:

(1) An initial decree issued on 27 September prohibited all refugees professing either at present, or in the past the Jewish religion, or having more than two Jewish grandparents, from returning to the Occupied Zone.[3]

(2) Jews were ordered to register with the authorities before 20 October and to have identity cards stamped with the word "Jew."

(3) By the end of October 1940 every Jewish-owned business was to be marked distinctly as a "Jewish Enterprise." Leaders of Jewish communities were required to supply the authorities with all materials and documents necessary for the execution of this measure. Many Jewish businessmen, obliged to post the "Jewish Enterprise" mark on their windows, simultaneously posted excerpts of their military citations for acts of bravery either in 1914-18 or in 1939-40. This, however, was soon forbidden by the Germans.[4]

(4) On 18 October a new decree ordered the registration

1. Jewish Affairs, September 1941, p. 4.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

of all Jewish concerns, and on 12 December "Aryan" Commissars in charge of them, were appointed.

(5) On 26 April 1941 a new order revising the terms of the original decree of September defined a Jew as anyone having at least three Jewish grandparents, or anyone having but two, if he or she were currently so affiliated or had a Jewish spouse. All persons falling within the new categories were required to comply with the consequent regulations by 30 May.[1]

(6) Jews were forbidden as from 20 May to engage in wholesale and retail commerce, restaurants, the hotel business, insurance, tourist agencies, carrier services, banking, advertising, real estate, mortgage transactions, and employment bureaus. They were prohibited also from acting as commercial travellers and high officials in any establishment, or from accepting any position which might bring them into direct contact with customers or clients. Even in other forms of employment, Jews were to be replaced by "Aryans" on the demand of German military authorities.

As a result of these German measures, practically all Jewish enterprises in the Occupied Zone were quickly put under the administration of "Aryan Commissioners." The arrêtés appointing these Commissioners were, however, usually passed upon by the Vichy Government, namely, the Secretary of State for Industrial Production and Labor. A Vichy French decree of 10 September had provided for the appointment of advisory administrators whenever the legal owners of a business firm were "unable" to exercise their normal functions. It is pursuant to this decree that the Commissioners were appointed,

1. Jewish Affairs, p. 5.

since the real owners were unable to exercise their functions.

A new stage in the persecutions started on 13 March 1941, when all Jews living in the northern coastal district were summarily expelled from their homes and interned in concentration camps in the departments of Yonne and Aube.[1] Somewhat later, foreign Jews in Paris were seized and sent to the concentration camp of Pithiviers, near Orléans.

The internal administration of the Jewish community in occupied France remained nominally in the hands of the Consistory, headed by Chief Rabbi Julian Weill. In October 1940 the Germans appointed as Commissioners for Jewish Affairs Lieutenants Danaker and Lumper of the SS Guard, and efforts were made by the Nazi authorities to organize Parisian Jewry into a closed community in cooperation with the Jews; these attempts, however, failed as the French law did not recognize religious communities. The Germans even introduced Austrian Jews with a view to indoctrinating French Jews, but this measure failed too.[2] German persecutions of Jews were especially severe in Alsace-Lorraine.

On 13 July 1940, the fortunes of Jews and Frenchmen formerly in Alsace-Lorraine were officially declared to belong "to enemies of the Reich and the German people," and on 6 August German Commissioners were appointed to take charge of those industries and enterprises in which the so-called "enemies" were represented. Subsequent decrees defined the term "Jew" and placed under trusteeship all concerns owned outright or controlled mainly by Jews and Frenchmen. On 19 October Jews in Alsace-Lorraine were excluded from small pensions and social

1. Jewish Affairs, p. 5.
2. Ibid.

insurance schemes and, later, from unemployment relief. On 10 March 1941 they were declared ineligible for the state subsidies granted to children of large families. A decree of 10 April 1941 prohibited the slaughter of animals in accordance with Jewish ritual requirements. A decree of 15 January 1941 declared forfeit the property of all who had fled to France.[1]

On 1 June 1941 all Jews in the Occupied Zone were compelled to wear the Star of David. In July 1942 Jews were banned from places of entertainment, such as restaurants, cafes, cinemas, etc. They were also prohibited from using certain main thoroughfares in Paris such as the Champs-Elysées. In October 1942 Jews living in or near Paris were forbidden by German occupation authorities from entering food stores except for one hour a day.[2]

C. French Anti-Jewish Legislation

A series of laws and decrees which did not primarily concern the Jews, but of which the Jews were indirectly the chief victims, were enacted directly after the Armistice. In July 1940 new conditions were laid down for the withdrawal of citizenship, and the revision of all naturalizations granted on the basis of the law of 10 August 1927 was ordered. Another order, 13 September 1940, limited state employment to those whose parents were Frenchmen, exception being made only in the case of World War veterans. The same principle was applied to physicians (laws of 16 August and 28 October 1940) to veterinary surgeons (laws of 17 November and 11 December 1940, and of 24 January 1941), and to lawyers (decree of 10 September 1940). These measures bore heavily on Jews of foreign parents or foreign birth, particularly among physicians and lawyers.[3]

1. Jewish Affairs, pp. 5-6.
2. New York Herald Tribune, 31 October 1942.
3. Jewish Affairs, p; 37.

All this was crowned by the first comprehensive French anti-Jewish Statute of 3 October 1940. To this end German pressure was relentless, negotiations being opened between Vichy and the Reich directly after the armistice. It is said that some efforts were made by the French Government, and even by Pétain, to save the so-called "French Jews" that is, those whose families had been established in France for a certain time, for example, since 1870 or 1789, or three or five generations. The Germans rejected these attempts and the Statute was finally signed on 3 October and published on 18 October. The Statute was further modified on 2 June 1941.

A Jew[1] is now defined as any person descending from at least three Jewish grandparents, or from two if his or her spouse be likewise descended from two Jewish grandparents, or if he or she had not been baptized prior to 25 June 1940.

Jews are debarred from governmental and elected positions as well as from the high civil service posts. They may not serve as judges, teachers, diplomats, officers, soldiers, or sailors, nor may they occupy any important position in an institution subsidized or controlled by the state (e.g., public utilities or welfare agencies). Jews are likewise excluded from all other posts (even lower), unless they have been 1914-18 veterans in the combat zone, or have been cited during the campaign of 1939-40 as entitled to the "Croix de Guerre," or have been awarded the "Légion d'Honneur" for military reasons or any military honor.

Jews may practice the liberal professions or engage in commerce, industry, or handicrafts only within limits or under conditions established by decrees. They may not serve as

1. Journal Officiel, 18 October 1940 and 4 June 1941.

commission agents nor may they be active in banking, brokerage, or forestry. They may not publish, edit, or manage periodicals, unless of scientific or religious character, nor may they play any part in the production and distribution of films or the management of theaters, cinemas, and radio stations.

Exemption may be granted only to persons who have rendered special services to the state or whose families have been resident in France for at least five generations and have earned special distinctions for benefits conferred upon the country. But such exemptions, very rare in any case, are of a strictly individual character, and no advantages deriving therefrom may be conferred upon relatives.

Prefects are empowered to intern any Jew who violates regulations, even if he be a French citizen.

To coordinate anti-Jewish legislation, a Commissariat for Jewish Affairs was set up on 29 March 1941 under Xavier Vallat, a former Rightist deputy and lawyer.[1] The functions of the new Commissariat, defined on 19 May, were to suggest to the Government all laws and decrees necessary for regulating the Jewish problem and implementing the Jewish Statute, and also to coordinate the anti-Jewish activities of the several ministries, to supervise the liquidation of Jewish properties, to appoint commissioners, and to control police regulations concerning Jews.

On 21 June 1941, a "numerus clausus," introduced in all universities and colleges, restricted the number of admitted Jews to 3 percent of the total registration. On 17 July Jewish lawyers were limited to 2 percent of the total, and on 5 September the same regulation was applied to physicians.

1. Journal Officiel, 31 March 1941.

Following the general registration of all Jews in Unoccupied France,[1] a Vichy decree of 26 August 1941 ordered the sale of Jewish businesses, together with their merchandise and other properties, and authorized Xavier Vallat to appoint provisional managers to control them. The decree covered all industrial, commercial, and artisan undertakings and all leased premises, exempting only state bonds and residential properties. The proceeds of the sale were to be deposited in the owner's name in a central government fund, a 10 percent deduction being first made to cover overhead charges and to provide resources for the relief of destitute Jews. In the disposal of property owned in common by Jews and non-Jews the latter were to be granted a four-month postponement to liquidate their share.

D. Financial Measures against Jews

1. Occupied Zone. In the occupied zone all foreign shares and bonds deposited in banks had been frozen by the German authorities; those deposited in the safe deposit boxes of banks were frozen later as they could not be reopened by their French owners without the consent of German authorities. These measures, which took place directly after the Armistice, applied to all Frenchmen as well as Jews.

A registration of all shares (foreign and French) and of all industrial partnerships retained by Jews followed the registration of the Jews themselves. According to the decree of April 1941, special trustees could be appointed to take care of these shares and partnerships, and to sell them. Jews were not entitled to receive the product of these sales but only "indispensable subsidies"; they were also not entitled to

1. Journal Officiel, 16 June 1941.

any compensation for the losses which resulted from the sales.

Theoretically, in the Occupied Zone these trustees (administrateurs provisoires) were appointed by the German authorities according to the ordinance of 20 May 1940. But following an avis of 7 May 1941, these trustees were to be appointed by the French "Service du Contrôle des Administrateurs Provisoires" after approval by the German delegate at this "Service."

2. Unoccupied Zone. Here nothing was done before the end of 1941, except in respect to those French Jews who had been deprived of their properties by special decrees of confiscation which generally followed the loss of citizenship. Many members of the Rothschild family and other wealthy Jews were in that class. From the end of 1941, numerous administrateurs provisoires were appointed by the Commissariat for Jewish Questions, and they proceeded along the lines described above for the Occupied Zone.

It must be clearly understood that, as long as the French Government itself did not recognize a special Jewish problem in the management of Jewish properties, the administrateurs provisoires were appointed by the Secretary of State for Industrial Production, on a temporary basis and solely on the ground that Jews were actually unable to take care of their own businesses. This policy was in accordance with the French decrees of 10 October 1940 and 16 January 1941, which covered not only Jewish properties but all properties the owners of which were actually unable to exercise their rights.

It was only after the creation of the Commissariat for Jewish Questions that a change took place and the legislation in then Unoccupied France was unified with that under German control. An important law creating the "Union Générale

des Israélites de France" was published on 2 December 1941. This Union represents the rights and interests of the Jewish people with the authorities. All Jews domiciled in France are compulsory members of the Union. Fees are fixed by the Commissariat for Jewish Questions according to the means of the members. All other Jewish societies had been dissolved and their assets transferred to the Union. The only exceptions were religious institutions, concerned solely with the practice of the Jewish faith. The Union was authorized to raise loans not exceeding 250 million francs. The Union operated entirely under German domination.

Following the appointment of Darquier de Pellepoix (5 May 1942) to replace Xavier Vallat as head of the Commissariat, matters grew still worse.

It was decided on 28 August 1942[1] that the Union Générale should be required to raise six million francs monthly, by levy on the Jewish families in Occupied and Unoccupied France, to cover its own expenses.

At the end of June 1943[2] a new decree deprived an estimated one hundred thousand Jews of French citizenship; under it, all Jews naturalized in France since 1927 were to be deprived of citizenship rights.

On 20 January 1943,[3] it was decided that Frenchmen considered as Jews under the law would no longer be allowed to leave their residence without previous authorization to do so. Prefects may sanction changes of residence. Police commissioners and gendarmes may issue travel permits. In no

1. Journal Officiel, 5 September 1942.
2. Christian Science Monitor, 25 June 1943; Havas, 19 December 1942.
3. Radio Lyons, 20 January 1943.

case were Jews to be allowed to settle in the future in the following departments: Allier, Puy-de-Dôme, Haute-Savoie, Alpes-Maritimes, Var, Bouche-du-Rhône, Gard, Hérault, Aude, Pyrénées-Orientales, Ariège, Haute Garonne, Hautes-Pyrénées, Basses-Pyrénées.

In the winter of 1943 a course in Jewish History was inaugurated at the Sorbonne under a certain Labroue.[1] The idea was to inform every student of the Jewish question; in an interview, Labroue even advocated instruction in the Jewish question in primary schools.

Up to the summer of 1942, it was the foreign Jews in both zones who had borne the brunt of anti-Semitic measures. In May 1941, five thousand foreign Jews were rounded up in Paris and sent to concentration camps, and in December 1941 thousands of Jews who had entered the country since 1936 were arrested.

Under German pressure the French Government, as early as July 1940, withdrew the protection of French citizenship from aliens who had joined the French Army. A special ordinance of 4 October 1940 regulated as follows the position of foreign Jews in France:

(1) Foreigners of Jewish extraction might be interned in special camps on the decision of the prefect of the department in which they were residing.

(2) They could at any time be compelled by the prefect to take up forced residence.

1. Radio Lyons, 20 January 1943.

Appendix A. GERMAN OFFICES AND PERSONNEL

(The following lists are not to be taken as complete in any sense. In many cases persons or offices may have been shifted about after the date of the information given.)

A. Offices

1. Offices in Paris

Armistice Commission
Auslands Organisation der NSDAP
    Landesgruppe Frankreich
    Deutsche Arbeitsfront A.O.
Beratungsstelle für Volksdeutsche
Deutsches Beschaffungsamt in Frankreich
Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro (DNB)
Deutsches Roter Kreuz
Deutsches Verkehrsbüro
Dienststelle des Kolonialpolitischen Amtes
Embassy
    Consulate
    Passport office
Institut Allemand
Kommandantur of Greater Paris
Krankenverteilung-Unfallmeldestelle
Military Governor of France, office of
    Kommandostab
    Verwaltungstab
Oberquartiermeister Frankreich
Office for the Declaration of American Property
Office for the Declaration of Enemy Property
Organisation Todt; office of Oberbaurat

Police; office of Höhere SS und Polizeiführer
Reichsregierung für das deutsche Vermögen in Frankreich
Verbindungsstelle der Bauwirtschaft im besetzten Westen
Verbindungsstelle Frankreich
Wehrmachtsformularverlag
Wehrmachtstheaterkasse
Wehrwirtschafts- und Rustungsamt
Wirtschaftsgruppe Maschinenbau
Zentralauftragsstelle
    Leichtmetallburg
    Flugzeugteile
    Aerodromes Allemandes

2. Offices in Vichy

Sub-office of Gestapo
Consular office
Representative of Commander in Chief of Western Army

3. Other Provincial Offices (these lists are obviously far from complete)

Oberfeldkommandanturen
#592 reported at Laon, July 1940
#670 reported at Lille, March 1943

Feldkommandanturen
#517 reported at Rouen, March 1941
#529 reported at Bordeaux, November 1942
#530 reported at St.-Dizier, March 1943
#531 reported at Châlons-sur-Marne, March 1943
#541 reported at Biarritz, November 1942
#549 reported at Rennes, March 1941
#588 reported at Le Mans and Angers, July 1942
#591 reported at Nancy, February 1943
#595 reported at Angers, December 1942
#602(F) reported at Laon, 1940
#605(V) reported at La-Roche-sur-Yonne, January 1942
#622 reported at Epinal, April 1943
#638 reported at Beauvais, November 1942
#651 reported at Niort, March 1943
#669 reported at Dijon, March 1943
#677 reported at Poitiers, March 1943
#678 reported at Lille, March 1943
#680 reported at Melun, January 1941
#684 reported at Charleville, November 1942
#718 reported at Douai, March 1943
#722 reported at St.-Lô, April 1943
#723 reported at Caen, March 1943
#734 probably in Paris area, November 1941
#750 reported at Vannes, August 1942
#751 reported at Chartres, October 1942
#754 reported at Flers, March 1942
#755(V) reported at Le Mans, October 1941
#758 reported at Marseille, January 1943
#788 reported at Tours, March 1943
#801 reported at Evreux, May 1943
#814 reported at Rouen, March 1941

A report of no particular reliability states that there is a Feldkommandantur for Finistère Department, located in Quimper.

Kreiskommandanturen
#563 reported at Dijon, July 1942
#595 reported at Nancy, March 1942
#623 reported at Brest, April 1942
#633 reported at Lille, January 1943
#637 reported at Le Havre, June 1942
#704 reported at Marseille, March 1943
#713 due to depart Montrevel, September 1942
#781 reported at Fontainebleau, July 1941

Ortskommandanturen
#735 reported at Lorient, August 1942
#1/914 reported at Lille, March 1943

A report from September 1942 indicates an Ortskommandantur at Dax.

Feldgendarmerie offices reported at:
Chartres
Morlaix
Quimper
Périgueux

Gestapo offices reported at:
Toulon
Rennes
Ploaré
Quimper
Périgueux

Kommandanturen of unspecified type are reported in Pontarlier, Périgueux, and Dinan.

A military tribunal at Arras is described.

A Hafenkommandant is reported at St. Brieuc.

An economic mission is reported at Toulouse.

Rundstedt, Commander in Chief of the Western Army, has headquarters at Montpellier.

Branches of the Armistice Commission are located at Nice, Toulouse, Aix-en-Provence, Marseille, Lyon.

Offices of the Reichsland (formerly Ostland) society are located in Amiens, Charleville, Nancy, Dijon.

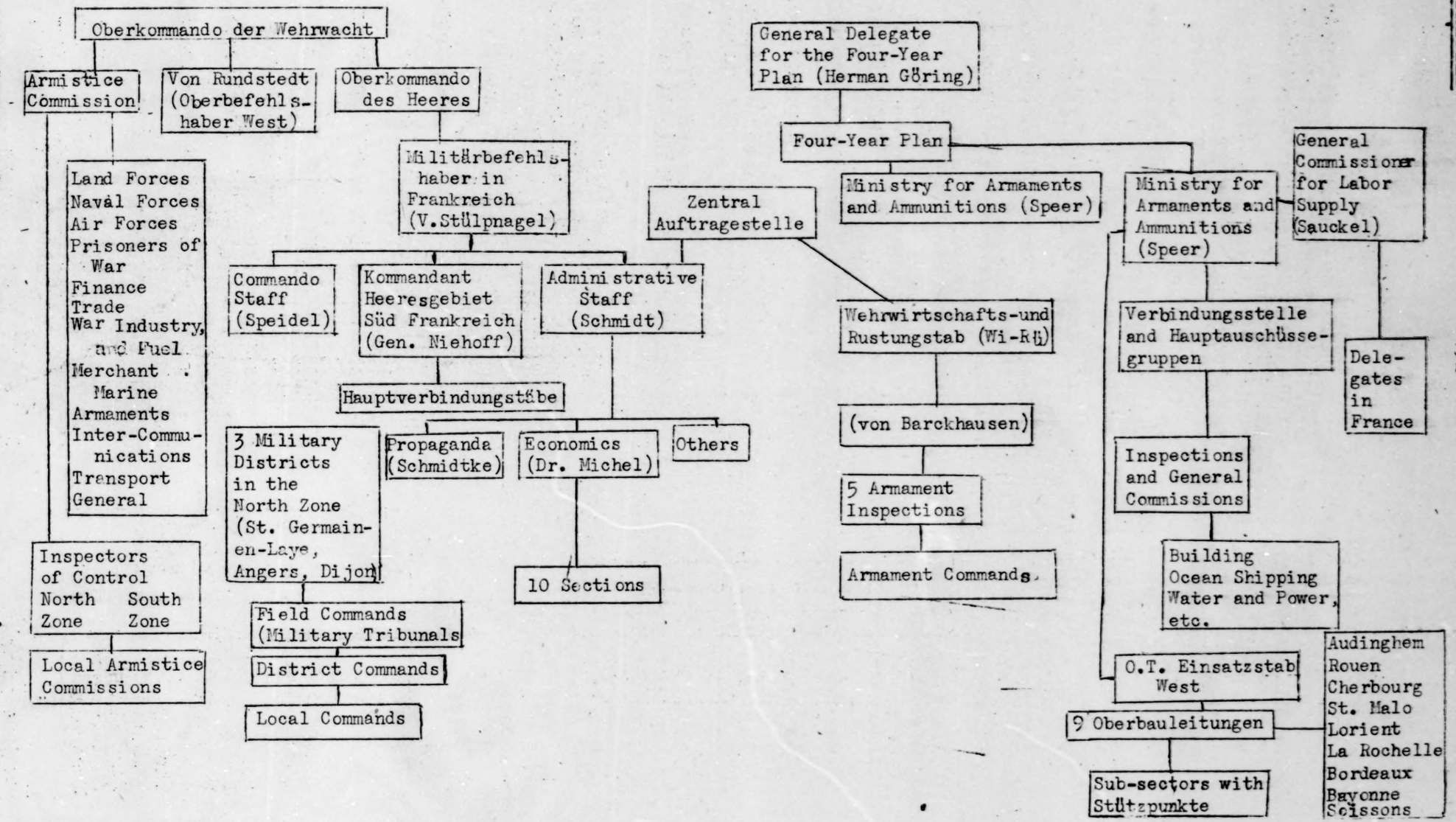
B. Personnel

Name	Title or Position
Abetz, Otto	German Ambassador in France (recalled end of 1942)
Ahlborn (Major)	Member of staff of Beschaffungsamt in Frankreich
Adolph (Major General)	Feldkommandant von Mans
Barckhausen (Lieutenant General)	Chef der WiRü
Becker	Member of Kulturdirektion in Paris
von Bemberg-Langfeld	Military Commander of Paris, appointed May 1943 (succeeds Schaumberg)
Beur (Captain)	Chief of department of Haute-Garonne
Blum	Head of Gestapo office at Rennes
Bohme	Chief of Staff to President of Armistice Commission
Bosse	Representative of Reich Ministry of Armaments and Munitions
Brockhues, Friedrich Bernhard	Member of staff of WiRü
Buscher	Counselor of legation
von Collenberg, Ruedt (Major General)	Head of Armaments Inspection at Paris
Donath	Oberbaurat, Organisation Todt
von Eckstadt, Count Vitzthum (Colonel)	Head of Armaments Inspection at Dijon

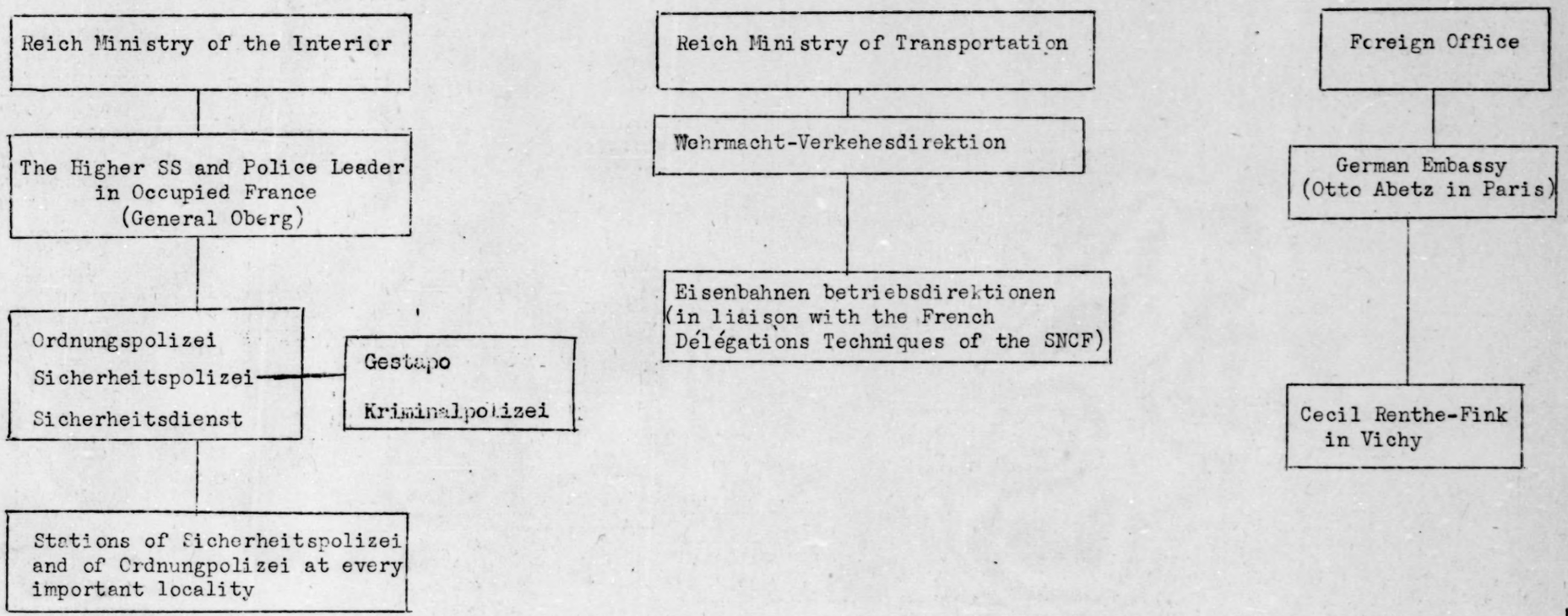
Name	Title or Position
Epting, Karl	Director of Institut Allemand
Fischer	President of German Economic Chamber, Paris
Fleischman (Commandant)	President of military tribunal at Arras
Fuchs	Member of Kulturdirektion in Paris
Furbinger (Captain)	Councillor of military tribunal at Arras
Grizeck	Officer of Leichtmetallburg
Hein	Inspector for military tribunal at Arras
Hemmen	Chairman of German Economic Section, Franco-German Armistice Commission
Henrici (Captain -- naval)	Head of Armaments Inspection at Amiens (Angers?)
von Heute	Director General of Leichtmetallburg
van der Heyde	Director General of Leichtmetallburg
Hoch	Attached to French security police, Toulouse
von Hofacker (Oberstleutnant)	Member of staff of Militarbefehlshaber
Hoffman	President of Verbindungsstelle Frankreich
Holthauss	Officer of Leichtmetallburg
Holzmann	Member Luftgaukommando, West
Hugo	Inspector of military tribunal at Arras
Hund	Officer of Leichtmetallburg
Jacoby (Major General)	Feldkommandant von Rennes
Kahl [spelling doubtful]	Gestapo agent at Quimper
Klein (Commandant)	Chief councillor of military tribunal at Arras
Knockel	SS. Oberführer in Paris
Koch	Head of Verbindungsstelle der Bauwirtschaft in besetzten Westen
Krassel [spelling doubtful] (Captain or Major)	Kommandant at Morlaix
Kreiner	Officer of Leichtmetallburg
Kruess	Head of Kulturdirektion in Paris
Kuntze	Member Economics Section, German Embassy, Paris
Lassine	Kommandant at Pontardier
Last	Inspector for military tribunal at Arras
von Lavergne (Oberstleutnant)	Member WiRü staff
Lehmann (Captain)	Commanding Officer in Chartres
Lochte	Officer of Leichtmetallburg
Maier (Lieutenant)	Member of Propaganda Staffel in charge of illustrated press
Mangi (Lieutenant)	In charge of Feldgendarmerie, Morlaix
von Metternich (Graf)	Cultural attache at German Embassy, Paris
Michel	Chef der Wirtschaftsabteilung (Verwaltungstab)
Missfelder [spelling doubtful] (Colonel)	Commanding officer for region of Morlaix

Name	Title or Position
Naschold	Attached to Verbindungsstelle der Bauwirtschaft im besetzten Westen
Nelken (General)	Chief of German economic mission, Toulouse
von Neubrunn (Lieutenant General)	Representative of Field Marshal von Rundstedt in Vichy
von Nidda, Krug	German representative in Vichy
Niehoff	Oberfeldkommandant in Lille
Nothelfer (Captain)	Councillor of military tribunal at Arras
Nüemann-Neurode (Lieutenant General)	Chief of Military District B (Angers)
Oberg, Karl Albrecht (Police General)	Höhere SS. und Polizeiführer
Peitzsch	Member of German Economic Chamber, Paris
Pereinner	Inspector for military tribunal at Arras
Pierburg, Alfred	Member of staff of WiRü
Radernacher	Commissioner for city of Paris
Rahn	Attaché at German Embassy, Paris
Ramm (Oberstleutnant)	Member of staff of Beschaffungsamt in Frankreich
Razeldorfer (Captain)	Councillor of military tribunal at Arras
Reichmann	Attached to office of French highway police, Toulouse
Reimers, Hans Gothfried	German military lawyer in Bordeaux
Ringel, Karl Robert	Sonderbeauftragter, Verbindungsstelle Frankreich
Roos	In charge of German security police
von Rundstedt, Karl Rudolf Gerd (Field Marshal)	Commander in Chief of Western Army group
von Schaumberg, Ernst (Lieutenant General)	Kommandant von Gross-Paris (reported killed by French patriots; succeeded by von Bemberg-Langfeld)
Schleier, Willi or Rudolf	German Minister in France
Schmidt	Chef der Verwaltungsstab
Schmidtke	Chef des Propagandaabteilung (Verwaltungsstab)
Schmitt (Major)	Member of staff of Beschaffungsamt in Frankreich
Schwendemann	Counselor of German Embassy in Paris
von Spangeren	Kreiskommandant with authority in Cherbourg
Speidel (Oberst)	Chief of Kommandostab
Streiger	Officer of Leichtmetallburg
Stuiber (Captain)	German chief labor recruiting officer, Evreux
von Stülpnagel (General)	Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich
von Stunzer (Colonel)	Commandant of Paris
Tannen (Major)	Member of staff of Beschaffungsamt in Frankreich
Thoennissen (General Major)	Chief of Beschaffungsamt in Frankreich
Turn (Lieutenant)	German Labor Office chief in Chartres
Vogl (General)	President of Armistice Commission
Warcholtz	Attached to French office for protection of industrial property, Toulouse
Winter, Eduard	Member of staff of WiRü
Zinselsmayer	Chief of central office of French labor for Germany

Appendix B. GERMAN CONTROLS OVER FRANCE



Appendix B continued


Reich Ministry of the Interior
The Higher SS and Police Leader in Occupied France (General Oberg)
Ordnungspolizei
Sicherheitspolizei
Sicherheitsdienst
Gestapo
Kriminalpolizei
Stations of Sicherheitspolizei and of Ordnungpolizei at every important locality
Reich Ministry of Transportation
Wehrmacht-Verkehesdirektion
Eisenbahnen betriebsdirektionen (in liaison with the French Délégations Techniques of the SNCF)
Foreign Office
German Embassy (Otto Abetz in Paris)
Cecil Renthe-Fink in Vichy

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